II. — SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.

776

171

The Transformer of the World and the Ancestor of the Koryak. — Big-Raven (Quikɪnn·a'qu, or Kutkinn·a'ku) is looked upon by the Koryak as the founder of the world. The termination-n·aku is the augmentative form of the mythical name of the raven (Ku'tqi, Qui'kɪy, Ku'skɪl, or Qui'kɪl[1]). In some myths he is designated as Raven-Big-Qui'kɪl (Va'lvam-Quikɪnn·a'qu). The Kamchadal call him Kutq.[2] Krasheninnikoff writes this word Ku'tkhu (Russian, Ky'тxy)[3] and Steller, Ku'tka or Kutga.[4] The Chukchee call him Ku'rkɪl.[2]

The Maritime Koryak of the western shore of Penshina Bay call Big-Raven also Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu[5]), as may be seen from the myths recorded at the villages of Itkana, Kuel, and Paren; while the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula call him Creator (Tenanto'mwʌn), as is evidenced by the myths recorded on the Taigonos Peninsula. The last two names, however, Ačičen·a'qu and Tenanto'mwʌn, are well known to the Koryak of other localities. The identity of Creator with Big-Raven (Quikɪnn·a'qu) and with Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) is also recognized by the Taigonos Koryak, in some of whose tales the last two names are also found. On the other hand, we find in texts recorded in other localities, sometimes the name Big-Raven, then Creator or Big-Grandfather; and sometimes in the same tale we meet with two names.[6]

It may be pointed out here that the Chukchee make a distinction between Raven (Ku'rkɪl) and Creator. The former appears as a companion and assistant of Creator when creating the world. The latter is considered as a benevolent deity of an indefinite character, living on the zenith, and is identified with another benevolent deity, Outer-One, World[7] (Ña'iñɪnen; Chukchee, Ña'rñɪnen), which, as will be seen farther on, is considered by the Koryak to be one of the names for the Supreme Being.[8]

In one of the Chukchee myths related by Mr. Bogoras,[9] "Creator" himself turns into a raven and ascends to heaven, in order to get reindeer for men from the Supreme Being; but this myth looks very much like an adaptation from the Koryak. Mr. Bogoras states, however, that in shamanistic incantations, Raven is sometimes called "the outer garment of the Creator."[10] This passage is in full accord with the Koryak conception of the Creator, or the Big-Raven, who turns into a raven when putting on a raven's coat.

---

[1] In ordinary language the word for "raven" is va'lvʌ. The names for Big-Raven and other mythical beings are written here as pronounced in the various Koryak dialects.

[2] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 637.
[3] Kracheninnikoff, II, p. 100.
[4] Steller, p. 253.

[5] Ačiče. "grandfather;" — n·aqu, augmentative form.
[6] Tales 6, 49, 125.

[7] Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 30; Anthropologist, p. 587; Chukchee Materials, p. viii.

[8] See p. 24.
[9] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 168 (Tale 57).

[10] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 640.

776 All the tales about Big-Raven belong to the cycle of raven myths which are popular on the American as well as on the Asiatic shores of the North [171] Pacific Ocean. But while the Ku′rkıl of the Chukchee, and the Raven of the North American Indians, play a part only in their mythology, particularly in the myths relating to the creation of the world, and have no connection with religious observances, Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) plays an important part in the religious observances of the Koryak. Steller calls the Kamchadal Ku′tka "the greatest deity of the Kamchadal, who created the world and every living being."[1] Like the heroes of the other raven myths, Big-Raven of the Koryak appears merely as the transformer of the world. Everything in the world had existed before he appeared. His creative activity consisted in revealing things heretofore concealed, and turning some things into others; and, since everything in nature is regarded by the Koryak as animated, he only changed the form of the animated substance. Some things he brought down ready made to our earth from the Supreme Being in heaven. Big-Raven appears as the first man, the father and protector of the Koryak; but at the same time he 782 is a powerful shaman and a supernatural being. His name figures in all incantations. These are either prayers addressed to him, or, in cases of treating 776 the sick, dramatic representations of myths relating how Big-Raven treated his 755 own children, the patient personifying one of Big-Raven's children. His presence is presupposed in pronouncing the incantation, and sick people are treated by means of his name. In the same manner he is supposed to be present at every shamanistic ceremony. When the shamans of the Maritime Koryak commence their incantations, they say, "There, Big-Raven is coming!" The Reindeer Koryak told me that during shamanistic ceremonies a raven or a sea-gull comes flying into the house, and that the host will then say, "Slaughter a reindeer, Big-Raven is coming!" I had no opportunity to witness personally any sacrificial offering to Big-Raven; but at the fawn festival[2] which is now observed only by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains, the antlers piled up during the festival constitute a sacrifice to Big-Raven.

The name Tenanto′mwan,[3] but not his other two names, is always used in incantations, as will be seen later on from the texts which I succeeded in recording. His wife appears under one name only, Miti′.

776 In some of the myths we meet, together with Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu), 773 who turns into a raven only when putting on a raven's coat, the real raven (va′lvᴇ, "raven;" or Valva′mtılaᵉn,[4] "Raven-Man") as a representative of birds

---

[1] Steller, p. 253. But on p. 255 he says, "If it is at all permissible to speak of any kind of a god, we do not find any description of his nature, faculties, or deeds, though there is a name for him, in the Kamchadal language. They, the Kamchadals, call him Dústechtschitsch." This is evidently the Supreme Being of the Kamchadal, corresponding to the supreme benevolent deity of the Koryak. Unfortunately, Steller does not give any further information about that deity. At the present time the Kamchadal call the Christian God by the name Duste′qčič.

[2] See Chapter V, The Fawn Festival.

[3] Chukchee, Tĕ′nanto′mgın.

[4] The ending -laᵉn means "man."

534 There is no doubt that the custom of attaching
177 such rattles to the drum has been borrowed from the Tungus. Not all of the Koryak drums that I saw had iron rattles. The drum, before being used, is heated by the fire. Thus the hide is made taut, and the sounds become clearer and more sonorous.

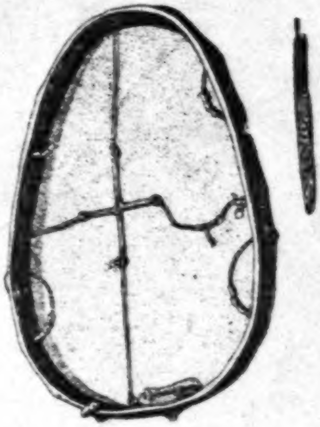


Fig. 20 ([illegible]). Yukaghir Drum and Drum-Stick.

534
171 It is very interesting to compare the Koryak drum with other Asiatic drums which I collected. Fig. 20 represents a Yukaghir drum.[1] Its longitudinal diameter is 88 cm., the width of the rim is 6.2 cm., and the length of the stick is 42 cm. The Yukaghir drum is asymmetrical — somewhat egg-shaped — in form. It is also covered with hide on one side only. Inside of the drum there is an iron cross near the centre, which serves as a handle. The ends of the cross are tied to the rim by means of straps. Iron rattles are attached at four places on the inner side of the rim. This kind of drum is similar to that of the Yakut. This similarity may be observed not only in its shape, the cross, and the iron rattles, but also in the small protuberances on the outer surface of the rim, which are especially characteristic of the Yakut drum. They represent the horns of the shaman's spirits. Judging from what the old people among the Yukaghir relate, in olden times their drums had no metallic parts, and were apparently like those of the Koryak. The metallic parts were borrowed from the Yakut. The Yukaghir drum is, however, larger in size than that of the Yakut, and its rim is not so wide. The stick is covered with skin of reindeer-legs. The drum-head is made of reindeer-hide.

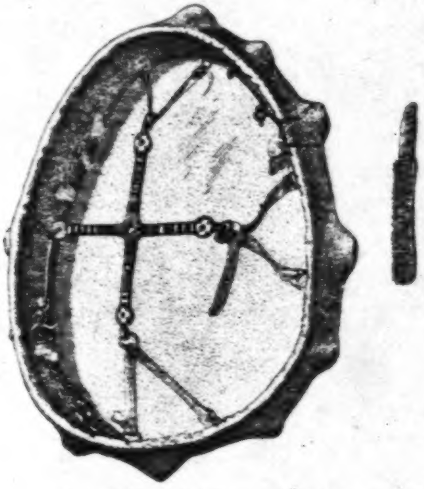


Fig. 21 ([illegible]). Yakut Drum and Drum-Stick.

The Yakut drum (Fig. 21) is

---

[1] When in use, the drum is held with the broad end up, which is also the case with the Yakut drum shown in the next figure.

covered with hide of a young bull. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm.; and the length of the stick, 32 cm. The wider part of the stick is covered with cowhide. There are twelve protuberances representing horns.[1] The cross inside is attached to the rim by means of straps. Little bells and other metallic rattles are attached inside around the rim.

The long diameter of the Tungus drum (Fig. 22) is 53 cm. In size and shape it is almost like that of the Yakut; but its rim is narrower, in one specimen only 7 cm. wide. The drum has no protuberances. The ends of the cross are attached to the rim by means of a twisted iron wire. The iron rattles are in the form of rings strung upon wire bows attached to the rim.

In comparing Asiatic with American drums, we observe that in most cases the Eskimo drums are not large. The only large drums are found among the tribes of the west coast of Hudson Bay. They are either oval (but not asymmetrical) or round; the rim is very narrow, like a hoop; and a wooden handle is attached to the rim,[2] like that of a hand mirror (Fig. 23). Mr. J. Murdoch, in his paper on the Point Barrow Eskimo,[3] says that such drums are used by the Eskimo from Greenland to Siberia. The drum in Murdoch's illustration is somewhat oval in form (55 cm. by 47.5 cm.).

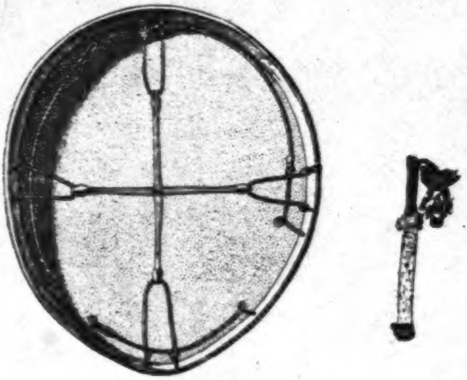


Fig. 22 ([illegible]). Tungus Drum and Drum-Stick.

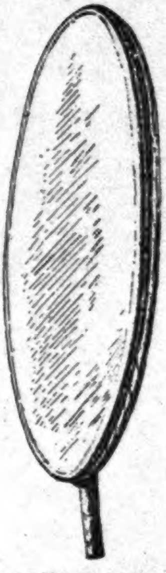


Fig. 23 ([illegible]). Eskimo Drum. Diameter, 87 cm.

The Chukchee use the same kind of drum (Fig. 24) as the Eskimo. The Chukchee, as well as the Eskimo, strike the lower part of the drum with the stick.

---

[1] Sieroszevsky (p. 635) says that the protuberances are always in odd numbers: 5, 7, and 11.

[2] Potanin (IV, p. 678) tells that divinators in China use drums with handles.

[3] Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887-88, p. 385.

534
171

The Koryak drum approaches the Asiatic drum, but its handle is not of metal: it does not form a cross, and is not placed in the centre, but nearer to the lower edge. All asymmetrical drums are held (in the left hand) in such a way that the wider part of the oval points upward. Since the handle of the Koryak drum is not in the centre, it is held, when being beaten, in a slanting position, so that the stick strikes at the lower part of the membrane. Other Asiatic drums are mostly struck in the centre.

On the American Continent, proceeding from the Eskimo southward, we find among the Indians small, round, broad-rimmed drums used for purposes of shamanism, as well as in dancing-houses.

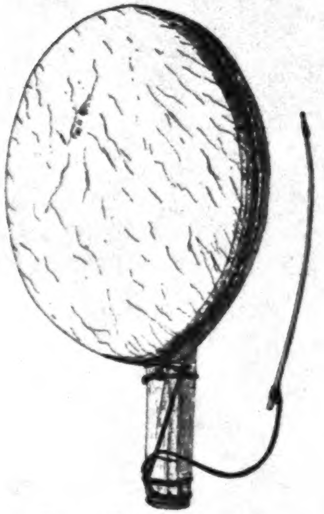


Fig. 24 ([illegible]). Chukchee Drum.

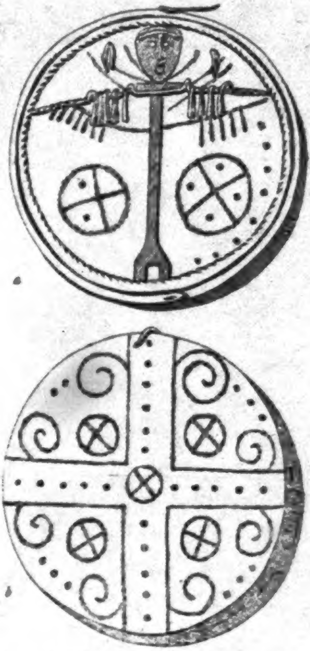


Fig. 25. Altai Drum. *a*, Inner Side; *b*, Outer Side.

It is interesting to note, that, according to Potanin's description,[1] the drums of northwestern Mogolia and those of the natives of the Russian part of the Altai Mountains have not the egg-shaped form common to East Siberian drums. They are round, and not large in size. Fig. 25 represents both sides of an Altai drum, according to Mr. Potanin.[2] Circles and crosses representing drums, and other curved lines, are drawn upon the outer and inner sides of the membrane. Some Altai drums have drawings of animals, like those on drums of the North-American Indians. Instead of the cross, which serves as 534 a handle, we see on the Altai drum a vertical wooden stick, representing a human figure, passing through the centre of the circle, and a horizontal iron 171 chord with rattles. The drum is held by the wooden stick, and not at the intersection of the stick and the iron crossbar.[1] In American drums, which have a single head only, the straps attached to the hollow side, and crossing each other, serve as a handle. These straps frequently form, not a cross, but a number of radii. According to Dr. Finsch's description,[2] the drums of the Samoyed and of the Ob-Ostyak are, like the Altai drums, round in shape, broad-rimmed, covered on one side only, and have a diameter of from 30 cm. to 50 cm.

---

[1] Potanin, IV, pp. 44, 679.

[2] Ibid., Plate XIII, Figs. 68, 69.

Drums covered on both sides with hide, like those found among the North-American Indians, together with drums covered on but one side, are used in Siberia only by the Buddhists (for instance, the Buryat), who use them in their divine services. These drums are of a circular form, and have leather handles attached to the outer edge of the rim.

I do not know whether the Koryak word for "drum" (ya'yai) has any other meaning; but the Yukaghir word (ya'lgil) means "lake," that is, the lake into which the shaman dives in order to descend into the kingdom of shades. This is very much like the conception of the Eskimo, the souls of whose shamans descend into the lower world of the deity Sedna. The Yakut and Mongol regard the drum as the shaman's horse, on which he ascends to the spirits in the sky, or descends to those of the lower world.

INCANTATIONS.

The significance of family shamanism will become clearer by a discussion 789 of the festivals of the Koryak. It seems desirable, however, to treat first the magic formulas used by them. In almost every family there is some woman, usually an elderly one, who knows some magic formulas; but in many cases some particular women become known as specialists in the practice of incantations, and in this respect rival the powers of professional shamans.

The belief regarding magic formulas is, that the course of events may be influenced by spoken words, and that the spirits frequently heed them; or that an action related to the text of an incantation will be repeated, adapted to a given case. In this way, diseases are treated, amulets and charms are consecrated, animals that serve as food-supply are attracted, and evil spirits are banished.

All incantations originate from the Creator (Tenanto'mwan). He bequeathed

---

[1] Potanin (IV, p. 679) calls attention to the similarity of the cruciform figures on the drum to similar figures on the clay cylinders discovered in Italy, and considered to belong to the pre-Etruscan period (Mortillet, Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme: Paris, 1886, pp. 80, 95, 96); but it does not seem to me that the sign of the cross on the drum-handle had in itself any religious or symbolical meaning.

[2] Finsch, p. 550, Plates 45, 47.

V. — FESTIVALS AND SACRIFICES.

FESTIVALS.

The cycle of festivals is different among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak, owing to the difference of their means of subsistence. A cult of the animals upon which their livelihood depends is developed among both groups; the Maritime Koryak worshipping sea-animals, while the Reindeer Koryak worship the reindeer herd. All the religious festivals of the Koryak centre around these animals.

r96
221

FESTIVALS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK. — Following are the main festivals of the Maritime Koryak: the whale festival; the celebration at the putting-away of the boat for the winter; and that at its launching in the summer. To the religious customs of the Maritime Koryak belongs also that of wearing masks.

The Whale Festival. — The whale festival is considered the most important one. It is called Yañya-ena′čıxtitgın, which literally means "whale-service." Every killing of a whale is celebrated with a "whale-service;" but the main whale festival occurs in the fall, usually in October, after the capture of a whale. Since whales are very seldom obtained nowadays, the ceremony is celebrated in connection with the capture of a white whale.

In describing the fall festival of the Kamchadal, Krasheninnikoff calls it the festival "of expiation of sins." Judging from the description of the rites performed during this festival, it abounds in interesting details; but, unfortunately, their inner meaning remained unknown to Krasheninnikoff. In one passage[1] he states that the means of expiation of sins was confession. Women suffering from nervous fits confessed transgressions of various taboos committed by them, and were then comforted by one of the old men. Such a confession of transgressions of taboos constitutes the expiation from sins also among the Eskimo.[2]

114
776
171

On the other hand, it may be seen from Krasheninnikoff's description, not only that this was a family festival, but that all inhabitants of a given village took part in it, even those not related to each other.[3] It signified

---

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 125.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 121.

[3] In the description it is not mentioned in whose house the celebration took place; but Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 606) interprets the description as meaning that there were special ceremonial houses among the Kamchad. Krasheninnikoff tells (II, p. 135) how the women of the house in which the festival was celebrated (apparently the winter house) walked off to the balagans (that is, the summer huts raised on posts), and how each returned into the house with sacrificial grass and provisions. The grass and provisions were received by two men appointed for that purpose. The grass was hung upon the charms; and the provisions, especially dried fish, were chopped with a hatchet, and returned to the woman from whom they had been taken, only a small piece being thrown into the fire as a sacrifice. Each women also put some sacrificial grass upon the hearth. Then they passed from one corner to the other, treating each other with dried fish, as a symbol of a future abundance of food-supply.

114 that the summer and fall hunting seasons were over, and was intended to
influence the deity so that the hunt of the following year would also prove
796, successful, and that the winter would pass without sickness, or visitation of the
17, kalau. This is Steller's interpretation of this festival, to which he devotes only
a few lines. Krasheninnikoff also describes how a grass whale filled with blubber and other kinds of provisions is made. It was tied to the back of one of the women, and at a certain moment those who participated in the celebration threw themselves upon it, tore it up, and ate it, apparently in imitation of a successful hunt.

Parry[1] tells, that, among the Central Eskimo, the capture of a whale is celebrated by a great festival. According to his brief description, the whale is hauled inside of a stone enclosure about five feet high. Several men flense it, and throw the pieces of meat over the stone wall. The crowd which stands on the other side catch the flying pieces; while the women, who are inside, sing, forming a circle, in the centre of which are the whale and the men who carve it.

The killing of a whale was also celebrated by the Aleut with a feast, with beating of drums, dances, and masks. The dances had a mystic significance. Some of the men were dressed in their most showy attire; while others danced naked, wearing large wooden masks, which reached to their shoulders, and represented various sea-animals.[2]

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak have no festivals, and adds,[3] that the Maritime Koryak observe their festivals at the same time as the Kamchadal, but that they are as little capable of explaining the meaning of their ceremonies as the Kamchadal. Unfortunately Krasheninnikoff does not offer any, not even a superficial, description of the festivals of the Maritime Koryak, which would be interesting for the purpose of comparing the rites of a previous period with those observed by me.

The essential part of the whale festival is based on the conception that
79', the whale killed has come on a visit to the village; that it is staying for
some time, during which it is treated with great respect; that it then returns
to the sea to repeat its visit the following year; that it will induce its relatives
to come along, telling them of the hospitable reception that has been accorded
825] to it. According to the Koryak ideas, the whales, like all other animals, constitute one tribe, or rather family, of related individuals, who live in villages, like the Koryak. They avenge the murder of one of their number, and are grateful for kindnesses that they may have received.

The whale festival is not a family festival, but a communal one. All the inhabitants of the village participate in it; but the owner of the skin boat by whose crew the whale has been killed, acts as the host, and takes charge of the festival. He invites his neighbors; and the celebration, which lasts a few days, takes place in his own house or in the largest one of the village.

---

[1] Parry, II, p. 362.

[2] Dall, p. 139.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 217.

796 After the favorable reception of the sacrifices by the white whale, the people proceeded to send it home. Two men went out, ascended the roof, and let down into the house long thongs, to which the travelling-bags (Fig. 33) and the heads of the white whale and the seals were tied. Before pulling them up, a preliminary test of lifting them had been made, and it turned out that they were very light. This was the last divination before the final equipment for the home journey of the white whale and the seals. For three days the bags of provisions remained on the roof. Then the puddings were eaten, and the grass bags and masks hung up in the small storehouse. I acquired the latter subsequently for my collection (see Figs. 32, 33). Toward spring they are usually carried away into the wilderness, where they are left on the ground, or hung from the branches of a tree. It is forbidden to burn them.

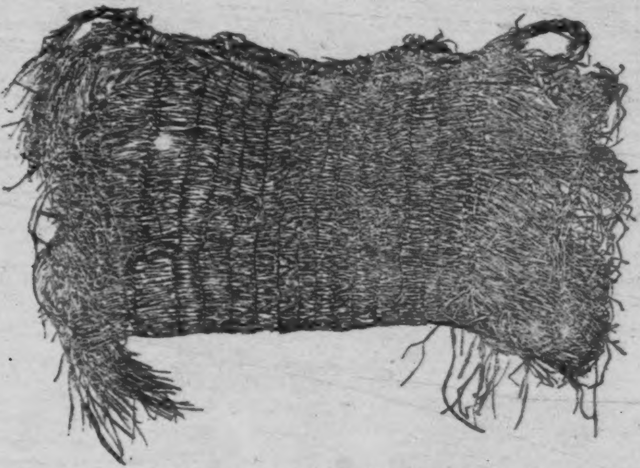


Fig. 33 ($\frac{70}{3370}$). Grass Bag for Whale Festival. Length, 120 cm.

784
171
● The following facts are of interest in connection with the festival for "equipping the whale for its home journey." The tendency of "having nothing in common" with the hearth of somebody else is not as strong among the Koryak as among the Chukchee. The family hearth of the Chukchee is sacred, and the fire of one family must not be brought in contact with the fire of another family. The kettle or teapot of one house must not be brought near the fire of another family, not even into another house. It would desecrate and infect the family hearth. Among the Koryak the taboo of "non-communion" with a stranger's hearth is observed in a lesser number of cases. For instance, among the Maritime Koryak the taboo of carrying fire from

one house to another is observed only in summer, since otherwise success in sealing 784
may be brought to an end. But during the whale festival, families that are not 171 ●
interrelated bring into the house where the celebration takes place wood, dishes,
food, and sacrificial grass. They build a fire jointly, and cook together. On [346]
the other hand, before the celebration takes place, all the bedding and the
skin covers of the sleeping-rooms are taken out of the house. Temporarily
the house is thus transformed into a ceremonial house.

In connection with this it may be mentioned, that, during the Koryak fair 527
on the Palpal Mountains, which I visited, the Reindeer Koryak built a common
oblong reindeer-skin tent. Each family covered a part of the tent with their 171
own reindeer-skins. The house formed a long passage, on both sides of which
the sleeping-rooms of the separate families were put up. In two places, near
the foci of the oval, two hearths were built for general use. The Chukchee
families that were present at the fair each put up a separate tent.

Not all the Maritime Koryak have transferred the ceremonies connected 716
with the whale festival to white-whale hunting, as it is done in the villages of Paren, Kuel, and Itkana. The Koryak of Kamenskoye and Talovka told me that they celebrate the equipment of the white whale for the home journey without any particular ceremonies, right on the seashore, the customs being the same as those in practice after the capture of seals. They cut off the head of the captured white whale or seal, put berries in its mouth to feed it, hang sacrificial grass around it, and, turning its face seaward, pat it, and say, —

"I′nnaa a′tči vo′ten aya′yan. ɪ′mɪñ qaitumgɪya′nvo hewñava′ta: mɪḷḷalai′
"Soon to-day with(this) tide (come). All relatives induce: come
kɪnemɪk."
on."

That is, "When the next high tide comes, induce all your relatives to come with you to visit us."

Then they add, "Go around the flippers of those who do not wish to come."[1] Thereupon they turn the face toward the village, and exclaim, "Uph, (he) has come!" (Gɪk, y′etti!)

The Koryak think that this incantation has the effect of bringing sea-animals with the following tide. Before sending off the head, they cut off a piece of the white whale's or the seal's liver; and the Koryak maintain that the liver of the next animal caught will lack a piece at the same place.

The Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, a number of whom carry on sea-hunting on a small scale during the summer, after having procured a white whale, offer a sacrifice of a reindeer or a dog to the master of the sea (añqa′ken-etɪ′nvɪla^ɛ^n). They cut off a piece of fat from the white whale or seal, and, throwing it into the fire, they say, "Come back later on."

---

[1] The Koryak words represented by this last sentence could not be literally translated.

532 pile. They received presents of pieces of sugar, tobacco, and ornaments, from
536 the owner of the house. Thus they visited all the houses of the settlement.

Paren is the only village along the entire western coast of Penshina Bay
● 171 in which wooden masks are used. The rest of the settlements are occupied in summer as well as in winter; and the wearing of masks is considered a sin.
532 In Kuel, for instance, the Koryak refused to arrange a "wearing of masks,"
771 as I requested, since it is forbidden. I was told in Paren that the custom of "wearing masks" is still observed in the settlements of Reki'nniki (Rekı'nnok) and Podkaghirnoye (Pitka'heñ), along the eastern coast of Penshina Bay. Subsequently Mr. Bogoras sent me a few masks from Reki'nniki. Besides, he found wooden masks among the Alutora Koryak of Baron Korff Bay. Even the small Reindeer camps of the Alutora Koryak, which are inhabited by families some of whose members live in Maritime villages, also have such masks and masquerades. It is noteworthy that the inhabitants of these villages stay there during summer also. According to Mr. Bogoras, the "wearing of masks" in these villages is rather a masquerade. The masks, unlike those from Paren, have pendants attached, consisting of rings, little bells, and other ornaments, or of models of things the masqueraders would like to receive. To one of them (Fig. 34, *a*) are appended

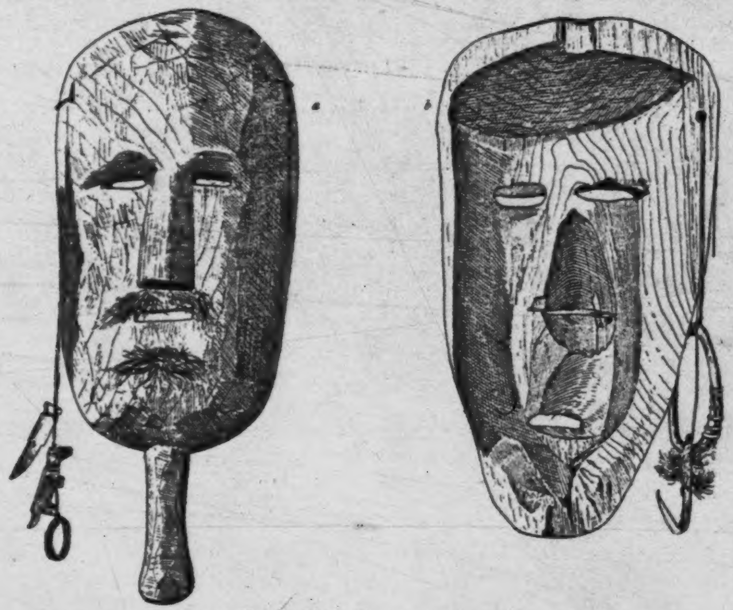


Fig. 34, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Wooden Masks from Alutor Bay.

532 carvings representing a dog, a knife, and a ring. In the eastern settlements,
●171 both boys and girls wear masks. The masks of the Alutor Koryak have
[552] names. Mr. Bogoras has recorded two names: one, that of a woman's mask,
— Kílu' (the name of Big-Raven's niece); and the other, that of a man's
771 mask, — Amka'vvi. When the masks which represent Big-Raven's children enter a house, they dance, and enact various pantomimic scenes, but do not utter a word, and do not ask for anything; but the pendants on their masks indicate the kind of presents they would like to receive. These pendants very often call for things which, according to local prices, are considered very
[431] valuable. These presents are never refused; but later on the donors go into the houses of the masqueraders to get return-presents.

In North America the use of masks by Eskimo and Indians for religious or festive purposes, or for pantomimes, is not confined to the western slope of the Rocky Mountains; masks are found also among the Iroquois, the Pueblo tribes, the prehistoric inhabitants of Florida; and we know that the Eskimo of Baffin Land use leather masks during festivals.[1]

Among the other Eskimo, only the Alaskan tribes use masks. They are also found among the Aleut. From the fact that among the Alaskan Eskimo, masks become more numerous and more elaborate the nearer we approach that part of Alaska inhabited by the Indians of Tlingit stock, Murdoch infers that the former might have borrowed masks of the Indians.[2] I do not undertake to settle this question; but in simplicity and crudeness of finish, the wooden masks of the Koryak are so much like the Eskimo masks of Point Barrow, that it might be supposed that the Koryak and Eskimo masks originated from a common source. It is very strange, however, that the Chukchee, who live between the Koryak and the Eskimo, have no masks.[3]

532. The collection of Koryak wooden masks in the American Museum in New York consists of nine specimens collected by me at Paren, two from Reki'nniki, and two from Baron Korff Bay, obtained by Mr. Bogoras. All the marks an made so that the eyes and month fit the face of the weaver. Fig. 35 represents the masks from Paren. All these masks are very rudely made. Only one of them (Fig. 35, *f*) is finished off somewhat smoothly. The outer edges of all the others are not smooth, but show the marks of the adze. Judging from its size, the mask shown in Fig. 35, *f*, was made for a child. It has no openings for the mouth and eyes. The eyebrows are drawn with black paint. The nose, though not short, is cut off straight at its lower end,

---

[1] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 141. The Yukaghir used to wear leather masks when dissecting their dead shamans (see Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 110).

[2] Murdoch, p. 370.

[3] Besides the Koryak and the Yukaghir, whose culture leans toward that of American tribes, and the Siberian Buddhists, some other tribes of northern Asia seem to use masks. Potanin (II, p. 54) mentions that the shamans of the Tchern-Tatars (Altaians) sometimes use masks (koro) made of birch-bark, and ornamented with squirrels' tails to represent eyebrows and mustache.

53; 171

Fig. 37 represents four masks from Point Barrow, which were collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray's expedition,[1] of which Mr. Murdoch was a member, and are deposited in the National Museum in Washington.

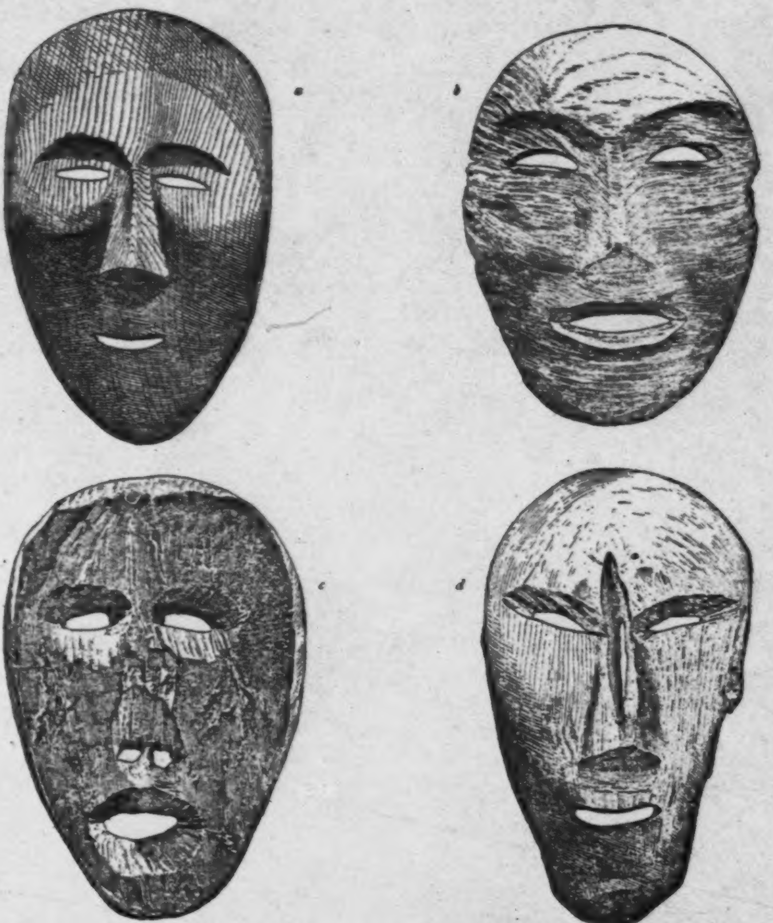


Fig. 37. Eskimo Masks from Point Barrow (*c*, inner side).

These, as well as the other masks from Point Barrow, described by Mr. Murdoch,[2] differ little from the Koryak masks. They are somewhat better

---

[1] The International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, 1881-83.

[2] Murdoch, p. 366.

532 171 finished. All of them have openings for the eyes and mouth. The eyes are narrower than on the Koryak masks; and on two of them the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat raised. The face is less oval in form, and the nose is shorter: generally the forms of the Eskimo masks approach more closely the type which is called "Mongolian" than those of the Koryak. Fig. 37, *c*, represents the inner side of one of these masks, and shows that they are just as little hollowed out as those of Koryak make.

532 While in the village of Paren the wearing of masks is practised only during the first winter month after the new moon, in the settlements of northern Kamchatka and in those of Baron Korff Bay the young people, according to Mr. Bogoras, amuse themselves with masks during the entire winter.

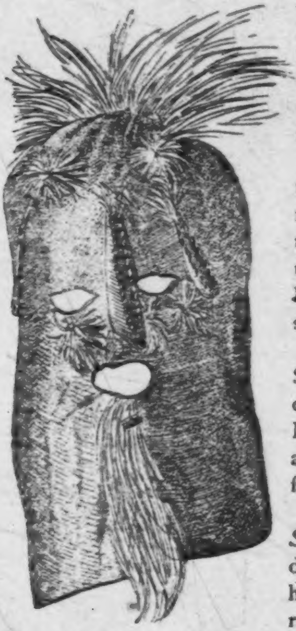


Fig. 38 ([illegible]). Leather Mask from Tilkhai River.

New masks are made every fall; and the old ones, which are no longer needed, are thrown away in a lonely place away from the village.[1]

I did not see grass or wooden masks among the Reindeer Koryak.[2] I only found a leather mask (Fig. 38) among the Reindeer Koryak on the Tilkhai River; but they said that it was not used in any ceremony. It represents a cannibal *kala*. Women put on such masks in order to scare the children.

796 FESTIVALS OF THE REINDEER KORYAK. — Since the time I spent with the Reindeer Koryak did not coincide with the season of their festivities, I had to be contented with such verbal information as I was able to get from the Koryak. The main festivals of the Reindeer Koryak are the following.

Ceremony on the Return of the Herd from Summer Pastures. — The majority of the Reindeer Koryak send their herds, with their sons or herdsmen, to the mountains; and they themselves remain near some river to fish or to go to sea. When the first snow covers the ground, the herdsmen with the herd return to the summer dwelling. As soon as the approach of the herd is noticed, the fire in the house is put out, and a new fire is made outside the house with the sacred fire-board, and a pile of wood is ignited with the new fire. Burning brands are then laid

---

[1] It is worth while to note here, that, after the religious ceremonies which used to take place in December, the Aleutians broke and threw into the sea the charms which they had used during the ceremonies, and the masks worn by their men and women; and that every year they made new charms and new masks (Dall, p. 139)

[2] With the exception of the Alutora Reindeer Koryak (see p. 81).

it is difficult to tell whether the Koryak made offerings of dogs prior to the 782
time when a part of them began to keep reindeer-herds. The dog-raising Eskimo do not slaughter dogs as a sacrifice to the spirits.[1] Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff mentions that the Kamchadal dog-breeders offered any sacrifices of dogs.

On the other hand, however, in North America, east of the Rocky 782
Mountains, the Iroquois Indians make sacrificial offerings of dogs; the Sioux
also used to sacrifice dogs as well as make bloodless offerings;[2] and the dog- 171
raising Yukaghir[3] of northeastern Siberia, and the Gilyak[4] of Saghalin and of the Amur River, killed dogs as sacrifices to their deities or to their dead. The Gilyak, the Ainu, and some Tungus tribes of the Amur region, make bloody sacrifices, killing bears during their well-known bear festivals.[5]

If we now proceed to compare the nature of the bloody sacrifices of the Koryak with those of the Siberian tribes, whose culture is of decidedly Asiatic type and shows no American affiliation, and whose source of subsistence is cattle-raising, we shall find certain marked differences.

Among the Buryat and the people of the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia, bloody sacrifices are still practised. Such sacrifices were formerly made in the country of the Urankhai (Soyot) and all over lamaistic Mongolia; but, according to Potanin,[6] they have been abolished through the efforts of the lamas.

The custom of offering bloody sacrifices is even now in existence among the Yakut, in spite of the fact that they were converted to Christianity from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years ago. But while the Altai[7] people, like the Koryak, offer sacrifices to benevolent as well as to malevolent deities, to U'lgen· and Ye'rlik, the Yakut slaughter horses and horned cattle to malevolent spirits (abasy') only.[8] They offer bloodless sacrifices exclusively, not only to the creative forces (ayi'), but to the "masters" (iččí') as well. They make libations of kumiss to the head of the creative deities, Lord-Bright-Creator (Ayi'-Uru'ñ-Toyo'n); while animals are merely consecrated to him, but not slaughtered. Consecrated animals are not made use of. In olden times, rich Yakut consecrated to him entire droves of horses, which were driven

---

[1] It is worthy of note here, that Turner (p. 196) says, "The tail of a living dog is often cut from the body in order that the fresh blood may be cast upon the ground to be seen by the spirit who has [illegible] harm, and thus he may be appeased." This seems to be a bloody offering.

[2] Dorsey, pp. 426, 459, 522. "Mr. W. Hamilton," says Dorsey (p. 426), "who was a missionary to the Iowa and Sac Indians of Nebraska, saw dogs hang by their necks to trees, or to sticks planted in the ground, and he was told that these dogs were offerings."

[3] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, pp. 98, 110, 122.

[4] See Schrenck, III, pp. 765, 766.

[5] Ibid., pp. 696-737.

[6] Potanin, IV, p. 78.

[7] Ibid., IV, p. 91.

[8] Trostchansky (p. 105) gives the following reason why the Yakut offer bloody sacrifices exclusively to malevolent spirits (abasy'). The latter kill human beings in order to eat their souls (kut), which serve them as food; and the sacrifice serves as a substitute. The abasy' gets the kut of the animal instead of that of a human being.

782 171 away eastward in the direction of the rising sun.[1] The Buryat also offer bloody sacrifices to eastern Teñrii (evil deities) only.[2] On the contrary, the Samoyed, like the Koryak, sacrifice reindeer to the benevolent as well as to the malevolent deities.[3]

The Koryak, as we shall further see, offer bloody sacrifices mainly to the Supreme Deity, to the sun, the "masters," the spirits of killed animals, to sacred rocks, in some cases to figures of kalak, and to the kalau (evil spirits). Formerly the Reindeer Koryak used to kill reindeer in honor of their dead also.

The conclusion may be drawn from the above, that, while among the Yakut and Buryat the cult of the evil principle has gained the upper hand over that of the creative forces, among the Koryak the cult of the benevolent spirit is more conspicuous.

782 Sacrifices are preventive, to avert a possible calamity or malady; propitiatory, to remove a disaster which has already befallen; and for giving thanks, in gratitude for benefits received. Thus sacrifices are offered not only at certain set times, but also on any and all occasions which may call for them. For instance, sacrifices are offered to secure a happy journey, that the hunt may prove successful, that a patient may be cured, that a storm may abate, that a famine may come to an end, or in gratitude for a happy consummation of a journey, for a recovery from disease, or for a successful hunt.

Not unfrequently a sacrifice is promised to the Supreme Deity conditionally, to be offered during a certain festival. As proof of such a promise, some kind of a bright-colored rag is sewed with sinew-thread to the ear of the promised animal; and the promised reindeer or dog is called ina'tıplın ("sewed or basted to").

Almost all sacrifices are made by the family or the individual. Only the sacrifice offered to the guardian of the settlement may be considered as a sacrifice for the inhabitants of the entire village.

Bloody Sacrifices. — While the Maritime Koryak kill only dogs as a sacrifice, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter reindeer as well. Dogs are killed by the Reindeer Koryak mainly as a sacrifice to the kalau. A reindeer offering is regarded as a more appropriate sacrifice. A white reindeer is looked upon as an offering particularly gratifying to the Supreme Being.

As a rule, when the Koryak offer sacrifices to the kalau, they do so with unconcealed reluctance. The sacrifice to the kalau is the price paid for preventing their attacks upon human beings. Some blood from the wounds of dogs or reindeer sacrificed to the Supreme Being is sprinkled on the ground

---

[1] Among both the Kamchadal and the Thompson Indians we find the custom of consecrating to an idol or to a spirit a certain portion of land, in which they abide. The Kamchadal did not hunt, or gather berries, around the place where the sacred posts (see p. 38, Footnote 1) were standing (Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 103); also, among the Thompson Indians, "roots, etc., growing near a haunted or mysterious lake should not be dug or gathered" (Teit, p. 345).

[2] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 89.

[3] Potanin, IV, p. 697.

763 The person is declared dead when breathing ceases. Then word is sent from the house where the deceased is lying to all the inhabitants of the village. This is done in the following manner. The messenger ascends to the entrance of each house, and shouts, "Set out a noose!" (Nupā'lhata!) This is done for the purpose of preventing the spirit of death, or the spirit of the deceased, from entering into other houses. The messenger is asked from within the house, "Who is dead?" and he tells who has died, and goes away. Thereupon a blade of grass or a splinter, which represents a noose, is placed near the head of the ladder. One of the relatives of the deceased holds the head of the dead on his knees until all the inhabitants of the village have been informed. Little children are kept in their mother's or grandmother's arms. After all the neighbors have been informed, the deceased is placed on his bed. In Kamenskoye I was told that the deceased is laid by the side of his former bed. Somebody closes his eyes, and his face is covered with a fur robe. It is a sin to look at the face of a dead person.

Among the Reindeer Koryak, as soon as some one dies, a messenger is sent to the neighboring camps, informing them of the death that has occurred. The sleeping-room cover is removed from over the deceased in the house of the Reindeer Koryak, and the body is covered with a blanket.

764 171 FUNERALS. — The Koryak dispose of their dead by burning.[1] The Kamchadal, according to Krasheninnikoff, prior to embracing Christianity, threw away their dead to be devoured by dogs. The Chukchee, to the present time, use both methods of disposing of the dead. They are either burned, or kept to be devoured by wild beasts. The Yukaghir formerly placed their dead on platforms raised on posts.[2] The Kerek who live near the mouths of the rivers emptying into the Pacific Ocean, between Capes Anannon and Barykoff, and who have no timber or driftwood for building a pyre, let their corpses, dressed in funeral attire, down into the ocean. They tie the deceased on a long pole, tow it out into the sea, and then push the body into the water with staffs.

764 In former times, all work in the entire settlement was stopped before the burning of the dead. No one went hunting or sealing, nobody went to fetch wood, and the women did no sewing. At present this custom is not observed

---

[1] Owing to this circumstance, it is impossible to procure Koryak skulls. In the spring of 1900 an epidemic of measles was ravaging the Koryak camps, carrying off numerous victims. Several large families were reduced to only one member. In some camps of the Reindeer Koryak there were so many dead, and such a small number of people who were in good health, that the latter were unable to burn all the dead. They would therefore carry their dead into the wilderness, where they would leave them, together with the reindeer sacrificed to them. Unfortunately it was very difficult to find the remains of the corpses, because, during the entire period of my stay in that region, the whole country was covered with deep snow. Moreover, the Koryak concealed the place whither they had taken their dead. Thus it happened that I found only one whole skull and parts of two others.

[2] Both the Yukaghir and the Koryak forms of funeral occur among the North American Indians. The custom of throwing away the dead to be eaten by dogs is met with, according to Prshevalski and Potanin, among the northern Mongols, and in ancient times used to be practised by the Parthians, the Hyrcanians, and the Persians (Jevons, p. 203).

764 765 year. Since during that period there had been an epidemic, and many people had died, many gifts were sent. This was the first burning after the epidemic was over, and every family made use of this opportunity of communicating with the country of the dead, and of sending something to a deceased relative. Every present was wrapped up separately in a piece of bright printed calico or red cloth, and charmed by the conjuror, who in her incantations enumerated for whom each gift was intended. The following articles were among the presents: sugar, tea, tobacco, larch-gum, beads (large and small), bread and biscuit that I had given them at their request, and reindeer meat and fat. Two agaric fungi were sent to one old man who had been very fond of agaric intoxication. No clothing was among the presents, and no fish or seal-meat, or anything connected with hunting at sea or with fishing in the river Apparently the Koryak, like the Eskimo, believe that everything relating to the dead must be kept away from the sea-mammals. After the presents had been given, the women went away, and the men started a fire a little aside from the wood-pile, and with it lighted the pyre in several places. The first fire-brand was placed by the official chief of the settlement (see Plate XIII, Fig. 1).

764 When the clothes were burned, and the child's head appeared, her grandfather took a pole, and, thrusting it into the body, said, "Of yonder magpie pricked" (A'ñaḷan vakı'tha tı'npınen); or, in a free translation, "This is the magpie of the underworld, which pricked." He imitated the actions of the magpie of the world of the dead, in order to inform the deceased that she was passing to another world, and must not return to the house. The further actions of the dead girl's grandfather had the same end in view. When the flames of the pyre were dying away, he broke some twigs from the alder and willow bushes that were growing near by, and strewed them around the pyre. These twigs represented a dense forest which was supposed to surround the burning-place. We left the place while the pyre was still burning. Before leaving, the grandfather went around the pyre, first from right to left, and then from left to right, in order to so obscure his tracks that the deceased would not be able to follow him. Then, stepping away from the pyre toward the houses, he drew with his stick a line on the snow, jumped across it, and shook himself. The others followed his example. The line was supposed to represent a river which separated the village from the burning-place.

775 171 All these actions are identical with episodes in the tales of the "magic flight." After being taken out of the house, the deceased is apparently regarded as a spirit hostile to the living.

The question why and how dead persons become dangerous to those to whom they were near and dear in life, is one of the most difficult ones in ethnology. Fear of the dead is known among all peoples. I did not hear among the Koryak any tales of a direct transformation of a dead person into an evil spirit or kala; but the Chukchee have such tales, and they may also

775 be found among both North American and Siberian tribes, and in many other parts of the world. The Tupilaq[1] of the Eskimo, and the ghosts of the
171 Indians, are equally pernicious to men. The Yakut,[2] Buryat,[3] Altaians,[4] and Mongol[5] hold similar ideas. They believe that souls of certain dead ones turn into evil spirits, which are particularly dangerous to the relatives of the deceased. Such souls are called yör by the Yakut, dakhu'l by the Buryat, usyu't by the Altaians, and evil oñon by the Mongol.

764 The Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge dissect bodies before burning them, in order to find out what ailed them. Apparently this custom was in vogue among other Koryak as well. The Chukchee proceed in the same manner. The usage prevailing in some places, — for instance, among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula and the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, — of piercing the abdomen of the corpse with a knife when it is lying on the pyre, and of stuffing the wound with some rags, in cases where death was caused by some internal disease, is to be regarded as a survival of this custom. According to the explanation of the Koryak, this is done for the purpose of guarding the child, which later on receives the soul and the name of the deceased, against the disease of which the departed died.

Immediately after the body has been taken out of the house, the bedding of the deceased is removed, and the place of the dead one is taken by some other inhabitant of the house. For ten days his place in the house must never remain empty, that the kalau may believe they were not successful in their "hunt" among the inmates of the house. The person who occupies the place of the deceased is called by the name of the family guardians, Ine´njulaʻn. If he leaves the house, somebody else takes his place. In some villages a bundle of grass which has been formed into the shape of a human body, and represents Ine´njulaʻn, is put in the place of the deceased.

765 Ten days after a death, the Maritime Koryak beat the drum, thus expressing their grief for the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak beat the drum immediately after the funeral. I was told in Kamenskoye that all the inmates of the house where a death occurred, and brothers of the deceased, although living in other houses, wear for ten days after the burning charm bracelets or necklaces braided of sinew-thread and hare's hair as guardians against the spirit of the dead.

769 Annual obits for the dead are still observed by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains. They consist in the slaughtering of reindeer in honor of the dead, and the piling-up of the antlers on their "graves;" that is, on the burning-places of their relatives. The antlers represent the reindeer-herds

---

[1] Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591; and Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 131.
[2] Troshchansky, pp. 82-87; Sieroszevsky, p. 622; Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 34.
[3] Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 24.
[5] Potanin, IV, p. 130.
[4] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 17.

among the Eskimo, who call the owner inua, as well as among other Siberian tribes. In discussing the Koryak myths I shall point out the identity of the elements of which they are composed with episodes from Indian myths, and how insignificant is the number of Siberian-Asiatic ideas in the Koryak tales. I will not attempt to draw any positive conclusions in regard to their religious conceptions, but will offer here some comparative material to students better acquainted with Eskimo-Indian beliefs. I consider the concept that the kalau form a separate class of beings absolutely hostile to men, as due to the influence of the Asiatic dualistic conception of supernatural powers. The North American Indians believe that dwellers of the sky, and cannibals evilly disposed toward men, reside side by side with benevolent agents in one and the same sky.[1] The Eskimo "master" may become a tornaq, a spirit which may be a guardian of man, or hostile to him.[2] It is true that many Koryak guardians are called kalak or kamak, and correspond in this respect to the Eskimo tornaq; but the class of kalau which commit exclusively evil acts does not seem to occur in American mythologies. The evil kalau correspond exactly to the Yakut abasyla'r. The Yakut evil spirits (abasyla'r) are cannibals, and particularly soul-eaters; and their characteristic peculiarity, like that of the Chukchee kelet and the Koryak kalau, is that they are fond of human liver.

776
773

For purposes of comparison I will state here briefly the classification of supernatural beings of the Yakut, so far as it is known from my own investigations and from those of other authors.

776
771

The religious system of the Yakut is well developed. The class of creative and benevolent deities are called creators (ayı̄'). They live in the sky, on its eastern side. The majority of them have special names and functions. The Supreme Being and the chief of the benevolent deities is called Lord-Bright-Creator (Ayı̄'-Uru'ñ-Toyo'n). He also personifies the sun. The Chukchee idea of va'irgin[3] apparently corresponds to the Yakut ayı̄'.

Abasy' (*pl.* abasyla'r) is a word which indicates everything evil and harmful in nature[4] and spirits hostile to men. Abasyla'r are divided into "upper," living in heaven, occupying its western part, and having Great Master or Great-Lord (Ulu'-Toyo'n) as their chief; "middle," living in the "middle place" (orto'-doidu'), that is, on earth; and "lower," inhabiting the lower (allarā'-doidu'), subterranean world.

Ičči' ("owner") corresponds to the Eskimo inua; but not all objects have ičči', only the more insignificant ones. They are rather malevolent than benevolent by nature, and approach closer the abasy' than ayı̄'.

Tañara' is a word which at present indicates heaven, the Christian God, and images of the saints of the Greek-Catholic Church (icons); but formerly,

---

[1] Boas, Bella Coola Indians, pp. 32, 36.

[2] Id., Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 596.

[3] See p. 24.

[4] See Pekarsky, p. 3.

776 171 before the Yakut had embraced Christianity, it was applied to household guardians and charms.

The Yakut shamans are divided into kind shamans (ayi′-oyuna′) and evil-minded ones (abasy′-oyuna′); and their guardian spirits are accordingly either creative deities or evil spirits. Owing to the decline of professional shamanism among the Koryak, this division is not marked, but it does exist among the Chukchee.

821 773 Among the objects believed by the Koryak to be endowed with particular power is fly-agaric (wā′paq, *Agaricus muscarius*). The method of gathering and the use made of this poisonous fungus will be described later on. It may suffice here to point out the mythologic concept of the Koryak regarding fly-agaric. Once, so the Koryak relate, Big-Raven had caught a whale, and could not send it to its home in the sea. He was unable to lift the grass bag containing travelling-provisions for the whale.[1] Big-Raven applied to Existence (Vahı′yñın) to help him. The deity said to him, "Go to a level place near the sea: there thou wilt find white soft stalks with spotted hats. These are the spirits wā′paq. Eat some of them, and they will help thee." Big-Raven went. Then the Supreme Being spat upon the earth, and out of his saliva the agaric appeared. Big-Raven found the fungus, ate of it, and began to feel gay. He started to dance. The Fly-Agaric said to him, "How is it that thou, being such a strong man, canst not lift the bag?" — "That is right," said Big-Raven. "I am a strong man. I shall go and lift the travelling-bag." He went, lifted the bag at once, and sent the whale home. Then the Agaric showed him how the whale was going out to sea, and how he would return to his comrades. Then Big-Raven said, "Let the Agaric remain on earth, and let my children see what it will show them."

The idea of the Koryak is, that a person drugged with agaric fungi does what the spirits residing in them (wā′paq) tell him to do. "Here I am, lying here and feeling so sad," said old Euwinpet from Paren to me; "but, should I eat some agaric, I should get up and commence to talk and dance. There is an old man with white hair. If he should eat some agaric, and if he were then told by it, 'You have just been born,' the old man would at once begin to cry like a new-born baby. Or, if the Agaric should say to a man, 'You will melt away soon,' then the man would see his legs, arms, and body melt away, and he would say, 'Oh! why have I eaten of the agaric? Now I am gone!' Or, should the Agaric say, 'Go to The-One-on-High,' the man would go to The-One-on-High. The latter would put him on the palm of his hand, and twist him like a thread, so that his bones would crack, and the entire world would twirl around. 'Oh, I am dead!' that man would say. 'Why have I eaten the agaric?' But when he came to, he would eat it again, because sometimes it is pleasant and cheerful. Besides, the Agaric would tell every

---

[1] See pp. 75, 76.

XV. — CHARACTERISTICS OF KORYAK MYTHS

KK
K1
773
171

The general features of Koryak mythology have been discussed in Chapter VII (pp. 115 et seq.). In general character the mythology of the Koryak, Kamchadal, and Chukchee shows many similarities.

KK
K1
[831]

Comparison with Kamchadal Mythology. — All that we know of the Kamchadal mythology from Steller,[1] and from the Kamchadal myths given in Chapter XIV, leads to the conclusion that the Koryak and the Kamchadal had one and the same folk-lore. Steller relates only two complex myths, — one containing the story of Kutq's adventures with the mice, and the other telling of his love-affair with Excrement-Woman. The former myth will also be found among the Kamchadal tales in this book,[2] and both tales occur among the Koryak myths.[3] Besides, when summing up the general characteristics of Kamchadal mythology, Steller says that the entire folk-lore of the Kamchadal consisted of indecent tales about their god Kutq (Raven), as Steller calls the founder of the Kamchadal world. In this respect Kamchadal mythology corresponds closely to that of the Koryak, and forms a clearly defined cycle, consisting exclusively of raven myths. It may therefore be stated without hesitation that whatever is true of Koryak folk-lore is just as true of that of the Kamchadal.

Steller also mentions three separate episodes from tales about Kutq which he had heard told. In the first of these episodes, Kutq's gluttony is described. He reaches a river, and sees the ground on the opposite bank covered with berries. Being unable to cross the river, he cuts off his own head, and throws it across, so that it may eat the berries.[4] The second episode, which is illustrative of the concupiscence of Kutq (who tried to have sexual intercourse with all objects that he met), relates that he once found a valved shell on the seashore, with which he had intercourse. The valves closed, and cut off his penis.[5] This calls to mind the tales about the vagina armed with teeth. The third episode, which reflects the coarse tendency of the Koryak imagination in general, tells how Kutq once took Chăchy̆ (thus Steller calls Raven's wife) for an underground house, her vulva for the entrance-opening, and her anus for the underground passage of the ancient Kamchadal house, which was used for a draught.[6] He entered the house through the vulva, found the liver, and was about to take it, when it began to move. Then he became frightened, and ran out of the underground house.[7] In the Koryak tale, Big-Raven entered Miti''s anus as though it were the entrance to an underground house.[8]

---

[1] Steller, pp. 253-284.

[2] Tale 131 (p. 329).

[3] Tales 88, 121, 130 (pp. 260, 316, 324).

[4] See pp. 14, 53; Steller, p. 212.

[5] Steller, p. 262.

[6] Steller, p. 263.

[7] Ibid., p. 263.

[8] Tale 25 (p. 169).

KalcHadal RY3
CHukcHee RY2

KK
K1

773
●171
177

It is important to point out here some peculiarities of the present Kamchadal myths as compared with those related by Steller, and with the Koryak myths. In the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras, adventures are ascribed to Kutq and to members of his family, which, among the Koryak, are told about kalau.[1] For instance, in one tale[2] Miti′ cuts off her nose and lips, and catches the mice which are in her light; but the Fox sets the mice free, and finally kills Miti′ by throwing her down a rock. In Koryak tales[3] all this is told with reference to a kala-woman. I am inclined to attribute this divergence to the effect of Russian influence. The Kamchadal adopted Christianity long ago, and in a certain sense they are devout Christians, while the Russian priests constantly try to persuade the natives of Siberia who have been converted to Christianity that their former gods are devils and evil spirits. Thus, the Yukaghir of the upper Kolyma, in my presence, called their ancient guardian-idol, which was hanging in the woods, "Satan;" and the scaffold graves of their ancestors, and those above ground, which they used to worship, the Russianized Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma now call "the graves of the perished (могилы пропащихъ)," an expression which is otherwise applied to animals only; and they remained quite indifferent when I proceeded to open those graves.[4]

KK
C
773
776
171

Comparison with Chukchee Mythology. — The relation of the Koryak folk-lore to that of the Chukchee is somewhat different from its relation to the Kamchadal folk-lore. As may be seen from the publications of Mr. Bogoras,[5] the influence of the Eskimo myths upon Chukchee folk-lore was greater than that upon Koryak folk-lore; and the cycle of raven myths is therefore less preponderant than that of the Koryak. Big-Raven and Raven-Man of the Koryak are merged into one person named Ku′rkıl (Raven); and the Creator of the Koryak myths, identified among the Koryak with Big-Raven, appears among the Chukchee (with the exception of the passages enumerated before)[6] as a being independent of Ku′rkıl, but the same as the Supreme Being. From this we may draw the conclusion that the raven of the Chukchee, owing, perhaps, to the effect of their contact with the Eskimo, has lost its place as the ancestor of the tribe, and remains merely a hero of the animal epos. On the other hand, the Chukchee have retained more cosmogonic tales about the raven than the Koryak, which, however, might be explained by the fact that Koryak folk-lore is on the decline. Incidents of maritime life, which are very prominent in the Koryak myths, are even more prevalent in those of the Chukchee, where they assume a coloring of Eskimo life.

---

[1] Tales 32, 56, 79, 112 (pp. 181, 212, 246, 402).

[2] Tale 131 (p. 331).

[3] Tales 32, 56 (pp. 181, 212).

[4] It must be noted here that in one Koryak tale of Kamenskoye (Tale 108, p. 295), Big-Raven's son, Eme′mqut, appears as a cannibal in the same manner as the monster gormandiser of Tale 112, p. 302. This may also be ascribed to Russian influence.

[5] Chukchee Materials, Introductory; Anthropologist, pp. 682, 683.

[6] See p. 17.

Comparison with Mongol-Turk Mythology.—Before proceeding to compare the Koryak myths with the Eskimo-Indian traditions, I shall attempt to point out in what respect the Koryak myths differ from those of the Mongol-Turk. I select the Mongol-Turk from among the Ural-Altaic tribes, because they are the nearest neighbors of the Koryak. Besides, the material which I had at my disposal when working up the Koryak collection belonged mainly to the Mongol-Turk folk-lore, or, rather, to the folk-lore of Siberian Mongol-Turks. Though this folk-lore has so far been little studied, sufficient material has been collected. The publications which I used while working up my material are enumerated in the list of authorities, pp. 3-11. 773 171

Potanin, the well-known Russian traveller, — who supports the theory that some topics of Russian legends and tales, and of all Western legends in general, were borrowed from Mongol-Turk sources, — finds much in common in the shamanistic beliefs, ceremonies, and legends current over the vast expanse of land extending from the Altai Mountains to the Verkhoyansk Ridge on one side, and to the southern parts of European Russia on the other. He thinks that common cults prevailed, and legends of the same kind were in vogue, over this whole area;[1] and, indeed, the Yakut who inhabit the extreme northeastern portion of that district, and who at present constitute an isolated branch of the Turkish tribes, have legends which bear traces of an origin from the folk-lore created by the civilization of central Asia, which had reached a comparatively high state of development in early antiquity.

I will give here a brief characterization of the folk-lore of the tribes living nearest to the Koryak, confining myself principally to the Turkish Yakut and the Mongol Buryat. We shall see that their folk-lore differs from that of the Pacific coast both in form and ideas. The former is due to the higher stage of development of the tribes which created the Mongol-Turk folk-lore. The latter points to the fact that the elements of the folk-lore originated in a different region.

Of the various products of the creative genius of the Mongol-Turk, I shall select those which seem most important for purposes of comparison, — their hero-tales. The motives which prompt the heroes of the legends to undertake their wanderings, or to perform certain actions, are common human motives, — the going in quest of a bride or in search of a sister, a contest between heroes, or simply valiant deeds prompted by the desire of the hero to display strength. Though the conditions of life of the Yakut in the extreme north must have had a deteriorating effect upon their culture, which presumably originated in a country situated farther south, their hero-tales (olonxo'), in their elevated style and poetic flight, rise sometimes to the height of epic poems of the West. We find in them descriptions of nature serving as a background to the actions of the heroes, poetical similes and metaphors, and a wealth of epithets applied to the description of objects and persons. The tales

---

[1] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. ix (Introductory).

171
773

belonging to the North Pacific cycle of myths are characterized by elementary simplicity. Verbosity and eloquence are altogether absent, and the language is marked by meagreness of epithets. The tales consist of episodes following one after another, and contain simple accounts of successive actions or states of the heroes. Only a few of the Chukchee legends, such as the tale about Elendi,[1] approach in style the epic models of a more highly developed folk-lore.

In order to give an idea of the difference in style between the Koryak tales and those of the Mongol-Turks, I shall give here extracts from the legends of the latter.

> "Khan Guzhir drove to the blue sea, turned into a golden birch, which grows there, throwing a cool shade upon the sea by its curly leaves" (from the Buryat tale about Khan-Guzhir).[2]

Here are two specimens from Yakut tales, collected by Khudyakoff, who recorded the Yakut text and made a literal translation. In the poem called "The White Youth" (Uru'ñ Uoḷa'n), the appearance of a beautiful fairy, who asks the White Youth, a knight of divine (ayi') origin, for protection against the encroachments of a powerful hero of devilish (abasy') origin, is thus described:[3] —

> "Just when he was falling asleep, between sleep and waking, he heard above him a voice, gentle and kind, — the voice of a woman whispering, like the sound of the light breeze which rustles in the leaves of the poplar-trees up the river."

Such exalted language and such poetical similes could not have originated in the polar region, where the Yakut live at present. Another part of the same poem is worth quoting.[4] It is erotic in character; but, in spite of its utter frankness, it is clothed in a poetical form, and is not at all like the coarse and lewd passages of the corresponding erotic episodes of the Pacific coast. A monster of devilish origin appeals to the White Youth, requesting him to assist him in getting possession of the beautiful woman: —

> "'We shall ride very fast, very hastily, very speedily,' says the monster. 'Go and make the bed softer for the mistress, for the lady. To-night I have a mind to go to my mistress, to take her, the clean one, to wet her, the transparent one. Lad, untie her night-dress, with four rings and a seam in the middle; strip off her soft reindeer-skin dress, with eight hooks and a seam at the groins. And then, from under the hem, the shameful part of the body will sparkle, the distinguished part of the body will shine. Look out! don't lust after it, don't envy! That is mine, thy master's. Art thou quick in letting down women's drawers? Art thou prompt in tearing off their leggings?... Oh! I, so wasted and emaciated, shall I have a chance to enjoy it? Thou, I suppose, wilt support and help me, and wilt even push me! Dost thou hear? Well, then, go on!'
>
> "Upon this the man grew terribly angry, awfully wrathful; the blood rushed to his cheeks, and smoking hot became the blood of his nose. His daring thought came leaping from his side; his boastful thought came flying from the nape of his neck; his proud thought arrived, smoking like a blue cloud. Then he commenced to speak in his wrath, like the sound of a rifle-shot:
>
> "'What insulting words! what a venom of mouth! what a caustic beak! foulness of the lips of such a piece of nothingness! the lowest of eaters,[5] profligate among the devils! a devil from the

---

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, pp. 339-353.

[2] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 70.

[3] Khudyakoff, p. 161.

[4] Ibid., p. 158.

[5] The evil spirits abasyla'r are called in the Yakut myths simply "eaters," on account of their being cannibals and soul-eaters.

very worst place! Thou'dst better tell thy will instead of that! Say, instead of that, thy last word of farewell to the earth and place! I shall break the crown of thy head into four pieces; the upper part of thy body, into three; thy body, into five parts!'"

All this is a preliminary dialogue before a combat between the devilish (abasy') and divine (ayi') heroes.

It must be remarked, that, since the art of writing is unknown to the Yakut, the heroic tales are committed to memory by young narrators, who learn them from the old men; for, in spite of the wealth of allegory in the Yakut ordinary conversation and the Yakut fondness of verbosity, the solemn character, impressive style, poetic flight, and the archaic expression of the poems, are peculiar to the heroic tales. It is not easy to be a good narrator.

The Yakut, as well as the Buryat, do not hesitate to call things by their proper names in the presence of girls and children. They are greatly disposed to ribaldry; their languages contain many ambiguous expressions; they have many obscene stories: but the last named occupy rather the place of pornographic stories of more civilized peoples.

I shall quote here one more passage from a Yakut tale, bearing traces of a more primitive view of nature, which regards all domestic objects as though they were animate; but it is rendered in an exalted style.

In a lengthy description of the riches of Ber-Khara', the hero, it is said, "had a bowl which would rise gravely and walk up to him. He had kumiss-goblets which walked up at the quiet pace of a stout man. There were cups which came up awkwardly. There were meat-boards which came up step by step. He had a hatchet which came running up to him. In the middle of his smooth, rapidly moving silver courtyard there were three lordly horse-ties, like three tribal chiefs."[1]

But such animistic views are seldom met with in the Mongol-Turk legends. Transformations of heroes into animals or inanimate objects appear in them to be the result of supernatural powers; while in the North Pacific myths all transformations appear as acts which are close to natural phenomena.

The Mongol-Turk folk-lore not only reflects a mode of life different from that portrayed in the North Pacific myths, but it manifests another form of imagination. Among the Yakut, the heroes are chiefs of clans (toyo'ns): among other Turkish tribes and among the Buryat Mongols, they are khans and princes, who, either by their origin, or kinship, or ties of friendship, are connected with the creative and benevolent, or with the evil, supernatural beings. They are often actuated by noble motives, while the heroes of the Koryak myths, like those of North American mythology, are egotistical. There are many-headed monsters swallowing entire kingdoms, iron athletes destroying everything in their way, resplendent heroes mounted upon winged iron steeds. The hero's steed is swift as an arrow, light as a cloud, and, covered with

---

[1] Khudyakoff, p. 94.

171 bloody sweat, it breaks the iron walls of enchanted castles. The horse figures as the assistant and counsellor of the hero, — it warns him of impending 773 danger, shows the way, and participates in his battles. The reindeer of the Koryak myths does not play such a part, being regarded mainly as an indication of wealth.[1]

Though the heroes of this legendary epos are frequently transformed into animals, or have the shape of animals, the underlying idea is not that of the identity of the hero and of the animal, but rather that of a supernatural and exceptional transformation for special purposes.

The Mongol-Turk tales of animals, in general, constitute a separate class of folk-lore, and in most cases have the form of comical fantastic tales told for pastime, or they are fables. Only a few of them reflect the view of nature held by the tribe at a remote period, and are connected with cosmogonic and mythological tales.

773 Although the Koryak folk-lore, as will be shown further on, is closely connected with American mythology, it contains, nevertheless, a certain number 177 of Asiatic or Mongol-Turk elements. Since the majority of episodes of the Koryak myths are found also in the tales of American tribes, we are justified in ascribing the presence of Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak mythology, not to the common origin of the latter with the Mongol-Turk, but simply to the fact that the Koryak must have borrowed these elements. It would be interesting to find out how these elements have been introduced. As far as we are familiar with the history of these peoples, neither the Buryat nor the Yakut ever had any direct intercourse with the Koryak or Chukchee. The Buryat live too far southwest, while the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the far north. Even at present the Koryak do not come in contact with the Yakut as a tribe. Only on rare occasions do a few Yakut from the Kolyma cross the Stanovoi Mountains to visit Gishiga for trading-purposes. At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian Government sent Yakut criminals into exile from Yakutsk to the Okhotsk Sea, near the southern border of the Koryak territory; but these isolated meetings cannot have had any influence upon Koryak mythology.

If the assumption that the Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak myths 773 were borrowed, is at all correct, then the tribes by which these elements were 174 introduced must have been the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the south. I shall discuss at length the influence of the Yukaghir in my description of the Yukaghir, which will be published later on. At present I shall confine myself to a few remarks on the influence of the Tungus.

The Tungus are related to the Manchus. They are supposed to have

---

[1] It is interesting to note, that, in a Gilyak tale recorded on Saghalin Island by Sternberg (Gilyak Materials, p. 407), the hero has a winged iron reindeer, which speaks, gives advice, and carries him to heaven. It seems to me that this is borrowed from the Tungus tribes.

migrated northward from the Amur River. At the time of the advent of the 773
Russians in the Far East, the Tungus already occupied the coast of the Okhotsk
Sea, thus separating the Gilyak of the Lower Amur River from the Koryak. 174
The mythology of the Tungus has hardly been studied at all. From the small number of Tungus tales recorded by me on the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, it may be seen, that, though reflecting the mode of life of a reindeer-breeding people, they contain episodes from Mongol-Turk tales, and have almost no relation whatever to the raven cycle, or other characteristic North Pacific coast tales. Owing to the difference in social conditions, we find, in place of the rich Yakut lord or clan chief (toyo'n), or the Buryat Mongolian khans and princes, the powerful men (ni'vany), iron heroes, and amazons. We find also iron tents and reindeer breathing flames, like the iron houses and the winged iron steeds of the Mongol-Turk. I found all the episodes of one Tungus tale recorded by me, in the Buryat tales of Khangaloff. Of course, in order to form a final opinion regarding Tungus folk-lore, it is necessary to wait until the material of their tales has been collected from the various regions inhabited by the branches of this small but widely scattered tribe.[1] A certain number of Tungus tales from the northern regions have been recorded by Mr. Bogoras, but have not been published. However, the material at present available proves that a certain part of the Mongol-Turk elements found in the Koryak folk-lore was borrowed from the Tungus.

Through the use of domesticated reindeer, which is an acquisition of Asiatic culture, elements must have been introduced into the folk-lore of the Koryak which are foreign to the American tribes. In relation to this subject, a comparative study should be made of the myths current on the Asiatic coasts of the Pacific Ocean, of those of the reindeer-breeding Samoyed-Finn tribes inhabiting all of northern Siberia and Europe, including the Lapps of Norway, and of those of the reindeer-breeders to the south of the Koryak.

Among the Mongol-Turk elements of the Koryak myths, I include bloody 773
sacrifices; and the presence in the tales of iron and silver objects owned by beings
or men of supernatural power, such as iron or silver horns and hoofs of rein- 171
deer, rods of the tent or posts of the underground house, iron snowshoes, wonderful iron sleighs, iron boats or fishes which take the hero across a burning sea, iron mice lifting the hero upon a burning mountain, or a child with iron teeth from which sparks are flying, or an iron cliff in which a girl is hidden.[2]

It must be pointed out, however, that copper is mentioned in a similar manner in Indian myths. Copper was used by the American Indians long before the advent of the whites, and may have been replaced by other metals when the episodes in which it was referred to were carried to Asia. In most of the American tales, copper is mainly a symbol of wealth; but we also find passages in which copper articles possess, like those of iron and silver in Asia, a magic power. For instance, in a tale of the Nimkish tribe,[1] we find a copper plate, which is the cause of daylight; and in one of the Kwakiutl tales[2] a copper canoe moves by itself, without paddles, over sea and land, talks, gives instructions to its master how to kill deer, eats seals, and causes a flood; in a tale of the Chilcotin[3] an "iron sweat-house" of the Sun is mentioned.

---

[1] The branches of the Tungus tribe are scattered at present between the Okhotsk Sea to the east, the River Yenisei to the west, the Arctic Ocean to the north, and China to the south.

[2] See Tales 11, 17, 21, 48, 52, 66, 82, 83, 95 (pp. 145, 155, 163, 201, 208, 226, 251, 254, 281, 282).

The frequent occurrence of tales about girls being placed by themselves in small huts, on trees, in underground houses, or hidden in stones, beads, rings, and other objects, may also be counted among the Asiatic elements.

In the tales of both sides of the Pacific Ocean we frequently hear of powerful heroes who pull up trees in order to develop their strength. Powerful men who carry forests and mountains on the palms of their hands, mentioned in the tale "Bear's Ear" (No. 76, p. 240), are found in myths almost the world over, and may also belong to the Asiatic episodes. I obtained all the episodes of this tale from Mongolian sources. Mr. Potanin,[4] in describing a certain sacred Mongolian picture representing the deity Dzu-shi, tells that, among the accessory figures on it, there is one athlete carrying a mountain on his head, and another one uprooting forests. In the Buryat tale, "Bor-khu,"[5] three athletes who had become friends settled down to live together. Every day two of them went out hunting, while the third remained at home to cook. Once, when the youngest one remained at home, three girls came from beyond the sea. Two of them took hold of the host and bent him down to the ground, and the third one carried off the cooked meat. When Bor-khu remained at home, he hid; and, when the maidens who had taken the meat wished to leave, he pressed his knee against the door, and they were unable to get out. Almost the same thing happened to Bear's-Ear and his two giant comrades. When the men were out hunting, one of them remained at home. Then a kamak would come, press him against the ground, and eat the cooked meat; but he did not succeed in overcoming Bear's-Ear.[6]

The whole story of Bear's-Ear has the characteristic of Asiatic-European folk-lore. In a Russian tale, "Ivan, the Little Bear" ("Ivan Medvedko"), we read of the expulsion from his parents' home of a strong man who is half man, half bear. Likewise, in the Koryak tale "Bear's-Ear," the hero is represented as a troublesome house-fellow, because he tears the children's clothes. The tale of a bear's ear is known also in the Caucasus.

The five-headed kamak[7] seems to me also to belong to the elements of Mongol-Turk tales, in which many-headed monsters occur quite frequently.

---

[1] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 140.
[2] Ibid., p. 167.
[3] Farrand, Chilcotin Indians, p. 25.
[4] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, I, p. 65.
[5] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 84.
[6] Among Mr. Bogoras's collection (Chukchee Materials, p. 99) there is also a tale called "The Bear's-Ear," but its contents are different.
[7] Tale 128 (p. 323).

It may be of interest to compare here the Indian tale[1] of a man whose body is covered with mouths that laugh and cry at the same time, with the Buryat tale of Khan-Guzhir,[2] in which a monster with fifty-eight heads comes out of the sea. Some talk, others sing, still others smoke, and the rest propose riddles to one another. This passage, with the same details, is found in the Mongol variants of the poem about Gesser collected by Potanin. The monster Abargo-Sesen-Mañaqtoi has fifteen heads. Some laugh, others talk, still others sing, and the rest tell tales to one another.[3]

The episode[4] in which Eme'mqut is described as having lain on the same spot ever since he was born, so that his side stuck fast to his bed, recalls an episode of Asiatic-European legends about heroes. For instance, the giant Sartactai, according to the Altaic tradition, left his trace on the banks of Katooni River, on which he had been sitting.[5] The most important hero of the Russian epos, Ilya Murometz (Илья Муромецъ), — who had been sitting motionless for thirty-three years, before he commenced his exploits, — left, according to one version of the legend, an imprint on his clay stove, on which he had been sitting.

The tales in which a man turns into a monster[6] and devours all the inhabitants of the village — which corresponds to the tale about the child-monster of the Yukaghir, Chukchee,[7] and Eskimo[8] — may also be found among the Kirghis tales. The following is quite like it: —

> "There lived once an old man and an old woman. A child was born to them. Soon they noticed that their cattle was disappearing during the night, but they were unable to discover the cause. The child was a monster. It used to leave its cradle and eat up a horse every night. Having destroyed all the live-stock, the child-monster commenced to devour people. Only his father and mother were left. Finally he swallowed them also."[9]

We find in American tales some elements that occur in the myths of the Old World, but they are absent in the Koryak tales recorded here. For instance, "the water of life," which a hero procures to restore dead bodies to life, or to revive bones, figures frequently in Indian myths on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, and is also one of the favorite episodes of the myths of the Old World.[10] Another case in point is the cosmogonic tale about the raven, or some other bird or other animal which dives into the water to obtain some mud, out of which the earth is created. This tale is popular in many parts of North America, and is found as well among the Chukchee and Yuka-

---

[1] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 202.

[2] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 66.

[3] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. 94.

[4] Tale 48, p. 209.

[5] Potanin, II, p. 171.

[6] Tales 108, 112 (pp. 295, 302).

[7] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 27.

[8] Rink, p. 258.

[9] Potanin, II, Remarks, p. 32.

[10] It seems that in the Koryak tales the blood of the reindeer takes the place of "the water of life" (see Tales 3, 67, pp. 130, 228). It must be noted here that in one Chukchee tale we find "bladder with living water" (Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. xxiv); and in one Yakut tale (Khudyakoff, p. 127) "three bottles with living water" are mentioned. As to the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras considers the passage as borrowed from the Russian.

773 171 ghir, as also among the Buryat,[1] Turk, and Finnish tribes,[2] but it is absent in the Koryak myths.

The episode about a girl who is visited every night by an unknown lover, and who, in order to discover who her visitor is, smears him with paint or soot, and thus discovers that he is her brother, is common to the Indians and Eskimo, but is also found in Mongolia. In one Mongol tale about the origin of the Kirghis from a sow, it is told that Djengis-khan once arranged a festival. That same night his son shared the bed with his mother, who smeared the culprit's back with soot. In this manner he was recognized in the morning. His father sent him away to the Desert Gobi. There he found a sow. By her he had children, who were the ancestors of the Kirghis.[3]

The episode of Indian tales in which people defecate valuable articles, such as copper ornaments, in place of excrement, is found among the Yakut,[4] who have a tale about a girl who produced precious beads when blowing her nose, and also among the Mongols. The hero of one Mongol tale used to vomit gold, and defecated gold.[5] In one Yukaghir tale we find a hero's horse which defecates silver coins.[6] We find this episode in only one Koryak tale, in which a kala's daughter defecates brass rings (the Indian symbol of wealth) and beads (the Tungus symbol of wealth).[7] Steller tells about Kutka, that, in order to detain pursuers, he defecated on his way all kinds of berries.[8]

The frequent episode in Indian tales of the origin of mosquitoes, flies, frogs, or snakes, etc., from the body, bones, or ashes of spirits, cannibals, or shamans,[9] is found not only in Yukaghir tales,[10] but also in Mongol-Turk traditions.[11]

I will point out here one more passage, common to the Indian and Mongol-Turk tales. A monster woman or a deity is described in the myths of the Bella Coola Indians as a cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man and sucks out his brain.[12] She is afterwards transformed into mosquitoes. In a Buryat variant of Gesser we find a similar episode. A monster bee, monster wasp, and a monster snake are sent one after another to the infant Gesser to suck out his brain, but he strikes them with a magic stone, and they split into small pieces, which become bees, wasps, and snakes.[13]

773 538 Types of Koryak Tales. — In order to facilitate the study of the Koryak myths, without regard to the similarity of their elements to one or another cycle of myths of other tribes, I have arranged them, according to their contents,

---

[1] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, pp. 66-68.

[2] Potanin, IV, pp. 797, 798.

[3] Potanin, II, p. 165.

[4] Khudyakoff, p. 88.

[5] Potanin, II, p. 164.

[6] Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 52. This is undoubtedly a borrowed Russian folk-tale.

[7] See p. 324.

[8] Steller, p. 263.

[9] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 89, 164, 165, 222, 224, 226, 253, 410.

[10] Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 49.

[11] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, pp. 325, 332; Khudyakoff, pp. 107, 124.

[12] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 252; Bella Coola Indians, p. 30.

[13] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. 66.

773 succeed.[1] In Tale 123 (p. 318), on the contrary, Re'ra, Kilu''s sister, finds a husband, while Yiñe'a-ñe'ut does not.

538 11. Women have a contest of beauty and in the arts of shamanism.[2]

12. The hero causes a woman to contract a disease of which he himself cures her. Then, as a reward, the woman becomes his wife. By the same strategy a man may become a desired husband.[3]

13. Big-Raven's daughter is married to one man, and later on another husband brings her back when she visits her parents.[4]

14. Two persons sue for the hand of Big-Raven's daughter, and the one who accomplishes a certain task gets her.[5]

15. The marriage of Big-Raven's children to animals, inanimate objects, phenomena of nature, and supernatural beings.[6]

16. Miti''s and Big-Raven's adulteries with animals and objects.[7]

17. Eme'mqut marries his sister; and the latter, out of shame, exchanges husbands with another woman.[8]

18. A son of Big-Raven who had been driven away from home, or his deserted daughter, become powerful, and take revenge on their father;[9] or his daughters run away from home, owing to bad treatment.[10]

19. One of Big-Raven's sons starts off in search of his brothers, who are killed by cannibals. He kills the latter, and restores his brothers to life.[11]

20. The transformation of a man into a woman, and *vice versa*, and stories of men bearing children.[12]

21. Big-Raven's and his children's intercourse with the inhabitants of the heavenly or underground villages.[13]

22. Big-Raven's struggle with the Chukchee and Reindeer Koryak.[14]

23. Tales in which Big-Raven or his family are not mentioned.[15]

24. Miscellaneous tales.

773 171 174 COMPARISON OF KORYAK AND AMERICAN MYTHOLOGIES. — Before proceeding to compare the elements of Koryak folk-lore with the episodes of American myths, it is important to point out some peculiarities of the Koryak tales. We shall see, from the comparative list of episodes (pp. 363-382), that the Koryak myths, while containing chiefly Indian elements, include also a certain number of Eskimo episodes. In the religion of the Koryak we have already

---

[1] Tales 18, 19, 48, 58, 101 (pp. 156, 157, 200, 216, 289).

[2] Tales 7, 59 (pp. 140, 217).

[3] Tales 64, 75, 80 (pp. 222, 237, 248).

[4] Tales 79, 81, 91 (pp. 246, 248, 267).

[5] Tale 82 (p. 250).

[6] Tales 19, 33, 48, 52, 55, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 80, 81-83, 86, 87, 106, 116, 123, 126, 135 (pp. 157, 183, 200, 207, 211, 216, 218, 221, 222, 225, 231, 247, 248, 250, 253, 258, 259, 294, 310, 318, 322, 335).

[7] Tales 31, 100, 121 (pp. 180, 288, 316).

[8] Tales 17, 20 (pp. 154, 159).

[9] Tales 76, 114 (pp. 240, 305).

[10] Tale 69 (p. 232), see also p. 21.

[11] Tales 3, 24, 30 (pp. 128, 166, 177).

[12] Tales 45, 85, 113, 129 (pp. 193, 258, 304, 324).

[13] Tales 8, 9, 12, 81, 83, 95, 111, 113, 114 (pp. 140, 142, 146, 248, 253, 280, 299, 304, 305).

[14] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).

[15] Tales 27, 36, 43, 44, 47, 57, 97, 99, 105 (pp. 171, 184, 191, 192, 198, 216, 284, 287, 293).

found customs that have been observed among the Eskimo. The whale festival 773
of the Maritime Koryak, and their taboo with reference to sea-mammals, — 171
the meat of which must not be partaken of by women after confinement, and
which must not come in contact with the dead, — are also found among the 174
Aleut and Eskimo. This similarity is the more interesting, since the main food of the Maritime Koryak, as well as that of the Indians of the Pacific coast, does not consist of sea-mammals, but of fish.

Nevertheless, we find greater similarity between the religion of the Koryak and the beliefs of the Indians of the Pacific coast. In nothing, however, is this similarity so complete as in the Koryak myths, and nothing points so plainly to a very ancient connection between the Koryak and Indian mythologies as the similarity of the elements of which they are composed; for, while some of the religious customs and ceremonies may have been borrowed in recent times, the myths reflect for a very long time, and very tenaciously, the state of mind of the people of the remotest periods.

On the other hand, the similarity between the elements of Koryak myths and those of the Indians cannot be ascribed to a single cycle of traditions of the Pacific coast of America. They are not even confined to the coast only. We find in the Koryak myths elements of the raven cycle of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian; those of the cycle of tales about the Mink of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes; of myths about wandering culture-heroes, totem-ancestors; and of tales about animals current among the tribes of British Columbia; and also episodes from the myths of the Athapascan of the interior, and the Algonquin and Iroquois east of the Rocky Mountains.

The circumstance that almost the entire Koryak-Kamchadal mythology is devoted exclusively to tales about Big-Raven brings it close to the American cycle of raven myths; but some characteristic features from other American cycles are also referred to Big-Raven. We find in the tales relating to Big-Raven and to members of his family a love for indecent and coarse tricks, which they perform for their own amusement, — a feature common to all the tales current on the whole Pacific coast.

To Big-Raven are ascribed not only greediness and gluttony, features 773
characteristic of the heroes of the raven cycle, but also the erotic inclinations 171
of the Mink, as well as the qualities of other heroes and transformers of the Pacific coast, and of the heroes Manabozho of the Algonquin, and Hiawatha of the Iroquois. Thus Big-Raven figures not only as the organizer of the universe and the ancestor of the Koryak, but also as a culture-hero.

In the monotony and lack of color of the tales, uniformity of the episodes, and simplicity of the motives of actions, the Koryak myths remind one rather of the tales of the Athapascans. Thus we find a similarity of form between some of the Athapascan legends recorded by E. Petitot[1] and those of the Koryak.

---

[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 3.

773 171 Some of the Athapascan traditions recorded by Chapman[1] and Boas[2] show the same characteristic traits. Some of the tales of Dr. Boas's collection particularly recall the Koryak myths; for example, the traditions of Cloud-Woman and of the cannibals (xūdēlɪ´).[3]

Judging from the contents of their myths, the Koryak world is quite narrow: the wanderings of the heroes are limited in space and time, and their adventures are simple. It goes without saying that they cannot be compared with the heroes of the Mongol-Turk tales, who fly over a number of worlds on their iron steeds,[4] and whose wanderings and battles last for several generations. They are inferior even to the wanderers of the myths of the American coast of the Pacific, who usually visit various places, have many encounters and adventures, and travel for a considerable time. The wanderings of Big-Raven and his children take place within the limits of a narrow horizon. From the seashore he goes to the Reindeer people, into the open tundra, up the river, or to some island. The hero seldom goes to the other side of the sea. The journey to the heavenly village, or the descent into the lower world, takes place very quickly, as if the sky were not far from the earth. The sojourn there of the travellers is not permanent. Only in one tale[5] we find that Eme´mqut, who became separated from the reindeer-train which was lifting Big-Raven up to heaven, had time to grow up on earth from a boy to a young man, and to marry, before Big-Raven came down to earth again.

773 602 The social organization of the Koryak also exercises a certain influence on the contents of their myths; and we find in them many of the American episodes changed, and adapted to the Koryak understanding of family and social relations. True, Big-Raven, like the totem representatives of the Indians, appears as the common ancestor of the Koryak as a tribe, and in the whale festival we have the germ of a communal organization; but the ideas connected with the secret societies of tribes, such as the Kwakiutl, with chieftaincy, like that of most Indian tribes, and clans, are foreign to the Koryak. The highest social unit of the Koryak is a large family, whose members are connected by ties of consanguinity and by hereditary guardians and amulets. The guardians protecting one family are dangerous to families hostile to it. Thus the guardians prevent one family from entering into too close relations with other families. Marriages between the families, however, destroy this exclusiveness, make friends of their guardians, and, such a union once established, it is endeavored to strengthen it by new marriages. Such relations between families find their

---

[1] Chapman, Athapascan Traditions from the Lower Yukon (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-185), 1903.

[2] F. Boas, Traditions of the Tsets'ā'ut (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. IX, pp. 257-268; Vol. X, pp. 35-48). 1896, 1897.

[3] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 265; Vol. X, p. 44.

[4] In one Yakut tale the hero flies over thirty heavens; and that of an Altai tale, over three hundred heavens (Potanin, IV, p. 564).

[5] Tale 95, p. 280.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

538
773
174
appearance, are in the Koryak tales divided into two separate episodes, — into tales about Big-Raven's daughter marrying a dog;[1] and those about dogs, which, in the absence of their masters (Big-Raven's family), put on embroidered coats, and beat the drum.[2]

In a common episode from the Indian cycle of tales about the Mink, it is told that a hero ascends to heaven by means of a chain of arrows. In the Koryak tales, this chain is reduced to one arrow sent up to heaven, which thus makes a road leading upward. The place of the American mink, which does not occur in northeastern Asia, is apparently filled in the Koryak tales by the ermine.

In place of the Eskimo and Indian tales about the lover who goes at night to a certain girl, who makes a mark on the visitor, and thus discovers in the morning that he is her brother, we have tales about Eme'mqut marrying his sister. It should be remarked that in the former as well as in the latter tales, the brother figures as the cause of the incest, and the sister considers it a disgrace. But in one Chukchee tale[3] it is the sister who induces her brother, in a fraudulent manner, to enter into a culpable union with her, just as in the Greek myth about Hippolytus and his step-mother Phædra.

The episode about the daughter hidden in a bead, who remains upon the body of her dead mother,[4] recalls the Indian tale about a dead woman giving birth to a live child.[5]

171
174
773
SUMMARY OF COMPARISONS. — A concordance of episodes of Koryak myths is given on pp. 363-382. From this it appears, that, out of 122 episodes, there occur in

(1) Old-World mythology	8
(2) Eskimo "	12
(3) Indian "	75
(4) Indian and Eskimo mythology	10
(5) Indian and Old-World mythology	9
(6) Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World mythology	8
(7) Eskimo and Old-World mythology	0
	122

In summing up the elements of the Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World myths, we have

102	Indian	episodes, or 84	per cent.
30	Eskimo	" " 24	"
25	Old-World	" " 20	"

It is very interesting to note that we have no episodes common to the Old-World and the Eskimo only, and we conclude that the elements of Old-World myths found in the Eskimo mythology reached the Eskimo through the medium of the Indian or Chukchee.

---

[1] Tale 33, p. 183.
[2] Tale 2, p. 127.
[3] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 172.
[4] Tale 81, p. 248.
[5] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 65, 170, 272, 290.

If we assume that the mythology of the Koryak has borrowed certain elements from the Mongol-Turk, we must admit that the similarity between some American and Asiatic episodes is also due to borrowing. For this reason it is necessary that the comparative study of Asiatic and American myths be continued, in order to make clear the ways and means by which the borrowing took place. 171 174 773

I have not introduced into our comparative list of legendary elements any episodes from the myths of the Alaskan Eskimo, published by Nelson,[1] because the Indians have exerted a very strong influence on the folk-lore of the Alaskan Eskimo, and a large part of the episodes of the latter cannot be considered as genuine Eskimo elements. To have included these elements would have caused confusion.

Eskimo influence on Koryak culture is not easily explained. If we had to do merely with a certain number of common mythical episodes, it would be plausible to assume that the Eskimo reached Bering Sea rather recently, coming from the East, — that is, broke the chain of myths spread in a continuous line along the Asiatic and American coasts of the northern part of the Pacific, — and that thus the Eskimo myths reached the Koryak through Chukchee channels; but the Eskimo elements in the religious rites, and, as we shall see later on, in the material culture, of the Koryak, point, I believe, to direct intercourse of the Koryak with the Eskimo at some period. The attempt to explain the cultural similarity of the two peoples as the result of similar conditions of life would be utterly inadequate, in view of their geographical proximity; but when, and under what circumstances, the contact between the Koryak and the Eskimo took place, remains thus far an open question.

Whatever the solution of this question may be, there is no doubt that the Eskimo appeared on the American-Asiatic coasts of Bering Sea as an entering wedge, which split apart the trunk of the common mythological tree. Neither the present isolation of the Koryak from the Indians, nor the influence of Asiatic culture on their customs and social life, has been able to efface from their myths the characteristic spirit and style of the traditions of the American Pacific coast. This is amply proved by the list of episodes contained in our list. It should be stated that most of the episodes cited are repeated in the myths in different combinations; nevertheless, I am far from having exhausted all the episodes of the tales. In the time at my disposal for this investigation, I have been able to make use of a small part only of the comparative material from mythological literature. No doubt the list of similar episodes and of complex episodes could be considerably increased by the use of more extended material. This would result, of course, in adding to the list of Eskimo and Asiatic points of similarity; but the percentile proportion between the different groups of episodes would probably increase in favor of the Indian myths. It

---

[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 7.

171 174 773 may be stated with certainty that the myths of the Asiatic-American coasts of the North Pacific Ocean (not going here into details as to the peculiarities of the different cycles of myths of North America) possess a homogeneous cycle of ideas. Besides, the Koryak myths, both by their general character and by their form, resemble most closely the northern Indian cycles, — the raven cycle of the Tlingit of the Pacific coast, and the myths of the Athapascan; that is, the groups of myths of those tribes whose territory lies next to that of the Alaskan Eskimo, who have evidently separated the Indian tribes from the so-called Palæasiatics, and in their turn adopted a considerable part of the ideas of the raven cycle.

As to the number of Indian episodes in the Koryak mythology, we see from the comparative list that

73	episodes belong to the myths of the	Tlingit (coast of Alaska) and of the northern coast of British Columbia.
65	" " "	coast of southern British Columbia.
35	" " "	Athapascan tribes.
27	" " "	coast of Washington.
10	" " "	Algonquin.
13	" " "	Micmac, Ponca, Navajo, and other Indian mythologies.

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from the similarity of ideas of Koryak and Indian folk-lore as to the relations between these tribes at a time remote from ours?

We can hardly ascribe this similarity, in accordance with the theory of Andrew Lang, to the uniform workings of the human mind. There is no ground, in this case, for holding to this theory; for how can it be explained that the imagination of the Koryak has created a mass of American, and not Asiatic or European topics, and topics which have retained in a great many cases entirely fortuitous details? Moreover, the geographical proximity of these tribes does away with the plausibility of such an hypothesis.

Two possible explanations may be advanced in the present case, — (1) the similarity of the folk-lore is the result of a common origin of the tribes themselves; or (2) the myths alone have a common origin, and one of the tribes has borrowed its ideas from the other. However, in both cases, the two tribes must have been at some time in close contact.

(142) The somatological material collected by the Expedition has not been worked up as yet, and it is therefore impossible to say at present what conclusions may be drawn from it with reference to the origin of the tribes of the two coasts of the Pacific Ocean. However, the folk-lore which has been investigated justifies us in saying that the Koryak of Asia and the North American Indians, though at present separated from each other by an enormous stretch of sea, had at a more or less remote period a continuous and close intercourse, and exchange of ideas.

538

171

173

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the elements common to the New World and the Old. I have tried to point out in the list given on pp. 363-382 the common elements. Under the group of episodes from the Old World are included, not alone the Mongol-Turk elements from the sources which I had at hand in working up my material, but also the legendary episodes (as far as I am familiar with them) which are known the world over. This is shown by pp. 363, 367-371 of the list. At the same time we must distinguish the Asiatic episodes, whose presence in Koryak or American folk-lore may be ascribed to borrowing from Asia, from such episodes as appear to be, in all probability, the result of independent development of the elementary forms of the human imagination. Of Asiatic origin are those episodes of the Koryak myths which contain mention of iron objects (the use of metals having been introduced from the West or South), or the story of Bear's-Ear, in which we meet with episodes having all the incidents and details found in Mongol and other Old-World stories. On the other hand, episodes that tell of talking animals (dogs, deer, or horses) which assist the heroes; stories of cannibals; of sexual unions of heroes with animals, or of their transformation into animals; of miraculous births; of the uncouth, dirty child which became a handsome youth, — may in their elementary ideas be the products of spontaneous development of the imagination in different places. These elementary ideas become characteristic of this or that cycle of myths only through the particular forms which they assume. For instance, Eme'mqut[1] is ugly because he is incased in a hideous skin cover; or the Sun's daughter is ugly,[2] being incased in a mouldy skin. When the outer cover splits open, Eme'mqut and the Sun's daughter come out beautiful and radiant. This detail is quite true to the spirit of the Koryak ideas of the outward form of objects concealing their human-like essence. On the other hand, if we compare the story of the birth of Geser, the divine hero of the Mongol-Turk poem, with the miraculous birth of the heroes of the raven cycle, we see that in this case it is not the elementary idea, but the details, which mark the episode as part of the one folk-lore or of the other. Geser descends from heaven to be born on earth, and enters the womb of a woman; while the Raven turns into objects that are edible or easily swallowed. From this point of view, a part of the episodes of the Pacific, considered before as similar to the episodes of the Old World, might also be classed with the original episodes characteristic of the Pacific cycle of myths exclusively.

[176]

To bring out this point more clearly, I will mention another interesting example. According to the underlying elementary idea, we may compare the beings, half men and half dog, described in the myths of the Eskimo, Indian, Koryak,[3] and Yukaghir, with the beings, half men and half deer, of the Tungus, Chukchee, and Yukaghir; with the centaurs, or beings, half men and half

---

[1] See p. 282. [2] See p. 148. [3] See p. 191.

773 538 ● 171 horses, of the Thessalian tribe; and with the being, half man and half ass, called "Kitovras" (Китоврасъ), in the Slav myths. In all of these creations of imagination there appears the same fundamental idea of combining the faculties of man and animal in one mythical being, whose powers are the combined powers of man and animal. This being may be, for instance, a good shot, and at the same time fleet of foot. It seems likely that, for this reason, these complex beings have the upper parts of their bodies human and the lower parts like those of animals.[1] In one Yukaghir tale recorded by me on the Jesup Expedition, the son of a man who cohabited with a bitch was half dog. His upper half was human. When he grew up, he became a remarkable hunter. No animal could escape him. His sight was keen, his arrows never missed their aim, and he was so fleet of foot that he could catch up with any animal. He was, however, troubled by a lack of co-ordination between his canine qualities and his human faculties. The dog's feet ran independently, and the human half frequently had to call to the feet to moderate their pace. Therein lay his peril. Once his dog-feet ran in the woods so fast that he was unable to stop them in time; and he ran into a sharp branch of a tree, which caused his death.

It may be fully granted that the fundamental idea of such combined beings could originate quite independently in different parts of the world; and episodes like the tales of men-dogs may thus be considered as original elements of the Pacific cycle of myths, and not as borrowed from the Old World.

128 In concluding my review of the Koryak folk-lore, I deem it necessary to state, that I regard the identity of the Koryak folk-lore with that of North America as established. I look upon the comparative part of my review, however, as merely a weak attempt in this field. An insufficient acquaintance on my part with many works on the folk-lore of other tribes, and lack of time to make use of the largest possible number of sources relating to myths of the New and Old Worlds, have made it impossible for me to furnish a more substantial basis for the comparative part of my work.

I hope to continue the comparative study of American and Asiatic mythologies in working up the Yukaghir mythological material.

---

[1] It is interesting to note that in one of Boas's Athapascan tales (Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. X, 1897, p. 44) cannibals are pictured with "faces which look almost like those of a dog." In this case, the dog-face is ascribed to the cannibal, because he has a keen sense of smell, like a dog, — a faculty which he requires in order to scent human beings. In the stories of all nations we find the stereotyped expression of cannibals, "I smell a man or human flesh." (See pp. 134, 303.)

LIST OF EPISODES OF KORYAK TALES COMPARED WITH SIMILAR OR IDENTICAL ELEMENTS OF OTHER MYTHOLOGIES.

OLD-WORLD ELEMENTS.

1. Episodes of antlers, hoofs, reindeer, sledges, snowshoes, boats, houses, teeth, etc., of iron or silver (pp. 145, 155, 163, 176, 201, 208, 222, 226, 251, 254, 281, 282).

Mongol-Turk. — Episodes of objects and beings of iron, silver, and gold, occur very often.

2. Episodes of bloody sacrifices (pp. 201, 202, 267, 279, 282, 283, 301).

Mongol-Turk. — Bloody sacrifices occur often.

3. Girls are placed in seclusion by their parents, that they may not be seen by suitors (pp. 125, 131, 176, 193, 198, 291, 302).

Mongol-Turk. — Similar episodes occur in KHUDYAKOFF's *Yakut Tales*, p. 113.

Tungus. — Episodes of like nature occur often in tales recorded by the author, to be published later.

Ostyak. — The Ostyak of former times placed in seclusion grown-up girls (PATKANOV, *The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 50).

Slav. — The Slav tribes had the same custom.

4. Big-Raven's son, Bear's-Ear, goes into the wilderness, and meets two strong men, — one carrying forests, the other carrying mountains, — whom he takes as companions. The three overcome a kala (p. 240).

Mongol-Turk. — All episodes of this tale we find not only in the Mongol-Turk traditions, but also in other Old-World folk-lore (see p. 350).

5. Eme'mqut, since his birth, remains lying on his bed without motion (p. 200).

Mongol-Turk and Russian. — The same incident is found (see p. 351).

6. The kala's daughter, Aten'a'ut, is so beautiful that her bare hand illuminates the darkness of the night (p. 245).

Mongol-Turk. — The bride of Khan-Guzhir (the Buryat name of Geser) is so beautiful that the night is transformed into day when she goes out of the house (KHANGALOFF and SATOPLAEFF, p. 64).

Ostyak. — One Ostyak epic hero is so beautiful that he illuminates the house like the dawn (PATKANOV, *The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 24).

7. Big-Raven falls into the house of the kamaks. They are about to eat him. He says, "Do not eat me! I am old and lean. I will send my son Eme'mqut to you: he is young and fat." The kamaks let Big-Raven off. He sends Eme'mqut, who kills the kamaks (p. 244).

Mongol-Turk. — An old man is caught by a cannibal woman. He promises to send his young son to her, if she will let him off. She does so. The son of the old man comes and kills her (KHANGALOFF and SATOPLAEFF, p. 11).

8. Pursuer turns into a reindeer-hair and a bush (pp. 148, 182, 214).

Old World. — We find the same episode in European fairy-tales.

ESKIMO ELEMENTS.

1. Foxes crawl into White-Whale-Man's house, and are killed (p. 319).

Cumberland Sound. — Foxes enter the house of an old woman, and the house becomes so full of them that they die of suffocation (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 216).

538
171

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — A great number of foxes come to an old woman. She invites them in; and when the whole house is full, she shuts the door and kills them all with a stick (*Ibid.*, p. 324).

2. Big-Raven, on his return from heaven, finds his infant son grown up and married (p. 280).

Greenland. — Giviak, on his return from his travels, finds his infant son grown up and a good hunter (Rink, p. 157).

Cumberland Sound. — Kiviak, on his return from travel, finds all his children grown up (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

Central Eskimo. — The same episode (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 623).

Smith Sound. — The same episode (Kroeber, p. 177).

3. Eme'mqut, son of Big-Raven, marries Fox-Woman. One time, while he is combing her hair, she says to him, "Step back! You smell like a Raven." One day, Envious-One, who courted Fox-Woman, but without success, says aloud, "What a strong smell this Fox-Woman has!" She takes offence at his words, and runs away from the house (p. 313).

Cumberland Sound. — A man who is married to a Fox-Woman exchanges wives with the Raven; but the Fox-Woman does not allow the Raven to touch her. He grows angry, and says, "What a bad smell there is!" The man finds that the Raven-wife smells bad, and shouts, "Oh, how bad you smell!" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 225.)

4. A kala-woman cuts off her nose, thinking that it obscures the light (*Koryak Tale*, p. 212).

The same is told of Kutq's wife (*Kamchadal Tale*, p. 331).

Cumberland Sound. — Ai'sivang cuts off one of her eyebrows, thinking it darkens the hut (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 193).

Central Eskimo. — The same episode is in Kiviak (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 624).

5. Creator, with family and herd, flees from an attack of Reindeer people over the ice of the sea. When the pursuers near the shore, Creator puts a bit of snow in his mouth, spits it out behind him, and the sea-ice melts away at the shores (p. 170).

Cumberland Sound. — An old woman, with her daughter and grandson, flees from her pursuers over the sea-ice. When the dogs of the pursuers come near, the old woman raises her bare hand, and extends her little finger, which she moves as though she were drawing a line between the two sledges. As she moves it, the ice breaks and drifts away, and they are safe from their pursuers (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 192).

Central Eskimo. — An old woman draws a line over the ice, with her first finger, across the path of pursuers: the ice breaks and drifts away (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 619).

6. Eme'mqut, pursued by a kala, turns into a raven, and carries his wife and children across a river. The kala asks the speaking-dogs of Eme'mqut how he crossed. The dogs reply that Eme'mqut drank all the water of the river, walked across to the opposite bank, and spat it out again. The kala drinks the water, and drinks until he bursts (p. 141).

Cumberland Sound. — A man pursued by the cannibal Nareya makes a river by means of sorcery. Nareya reaches the river, and, seeing the man on the other side, asks him, "How did you cross?" The man replies, "I drank all the water until I was able to wade through the river." Then Nareya lies down and begins to drink, and he almost empties the river; but his stomach becomes so full, that he bursts and dies (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 177).

7. Some boys are caught by a kala-woman, and hung in her fur coat on a tree. A Fox-Woman, passing by, saves them by letting down the coat, and filling it instead with sod, moss, and alder-bark. The kamak-woman and the kamak, arriving later on, shoot their arrows to kill the boys; when they let down the coat, they find moss, bark, and sod, instead of flesh (p. 212).

In another tale the kala-woman catches mice and puts them in her breeches, and the Fox fills them instead with moss (p. 181).

In the tale of the Kamchadal, Miti, Kutq's wife, hangs some mice in a little bag on a tree, and the Fox saves them in the same manner (p. 331).

Cumberland Sound. — The wife of a cannibal is afraid that he may want to eat her, and prepares to escape. She makes a figure by filling her clothing with heather, and hides herself. The cannibal comes back from hunting, stabs the figure, and discovers that it is nothing but clothing filled with heather (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 194).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — The same episode. The cannibal's wife makes a figure, filling her clothing with moss (*Ibid.*, p. 312).

Greenland. — The same episode (RINK, p. 106).

8. Big-Grandfather, sliding down a slope, falls into a house of kamaks. They are about to eat him. He asks to be allowed to go outside to urinate. The kamaks, after tying him to a long strap, let him go out. Big-Grandfather places logs over the entrance-opening, unties the strap by which the kamaks hold him, and fastens it to the logs, telling them, "I am going home. Speak in my place. When I get home, tell them that I have finished urinating" (p. 206).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — One of three girls carried away by a Whale becomes able to live in water or on land. One day her father and brother come in their boat to an island. The girl, seeing them coming, tells her husband that she wishes to go to the island. The Whale, afraid that he may lose her, does not let her go until he fastens a line around her, one end of which he holds. After she reaches the island, she takes off the line and ties it to one of her buckles, to which her father has given the power of speech, and it answers the shoutings of the Whale (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 317).

9. Eme'mqut rescues his sister, who was married in a Seal settlement and was ill treated (p. 153).

Greenland. — Brothers rescue their sister, who was married to a Whale, and kept by him at the bottom of the sea (RINK, p. 127).

10. Yi'tčum swallows two pieces of whale-meat, and feels that he is with child. He cannot be delivered of the child, so his sister Kilu' cuts out his stomach, removes a pair of twins, and puts his stomach back in place (p. 324).

Greenland. — A man swallows a fish and becomes pregnant. A skilful old woman discovers a charm which helps to deliver him of a fine little daughter (RINK, p. 444. Rink, however, is in doubt whether this episode is of genuine Eskimo origin).

11. A kamak-woman advises the kamak to kill Big-Raven by stabbing him in his ear (p. 236).
Ikle'mulaᵋn kills a dog by thrusting a pointed stick into its ear (p. 220).

Cumberland Sound. — An old woman, pretending to louse her daughter, kills her by driving a peg through her ear (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

12. Big-Raven defecates, and wipes himself with a rag, which he turns into a man (p. 218).
Big-Raven makes of his privates men who sing, "We are grandfather's" (p. 178).
Miti' cuts off her privates, breast, and buttocks, and tells them to become human beings (p. 168).
Miti' and creator cut off their privates, and make dogs of them (p. 139).
Creator cuts off his penis and sends it to get a harpoon (p. 165).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — An old woman transforms her privates into a sledge. Then she defecates, and wipes herself with snow. By throwing on the ground the pieces of snow with which she wipes herself, she transforms them into dogs. The old woman transforms herself into a man, and marries a girl. One day a man asks the girl who made the dog-sledge. She answers, "Grandmother made it" (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 324).

ESKIMO AND INDIAN ELEMENTS.

1. Miti' cuts off her vulva, roasts it, and gives it to Big-Raven to eat (p. 180).
Big-Raven cuts off his penis, and boils it for Miti' (p. 180).

Cumberland Sound. — Fox's husband cuts off her lover's penis, boils it, and gives it to his wife (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 223).

Athapascan. — Two brothers cut off the *membrum virile* of their wives' lover, chop and boil it, and give it to their wives to eat (BOAS, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 260).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Ts'ak· finds his grandmother asleep, cuts out her vulva, roasts it, and gives it to her to eat (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 121).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Qā'ix, the mink, cuts off a piece of his grandmother's vulva, and uses it as bait in catching fish (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 74).

2. A kala comes to punish the young people of a village, who play constantly, and do not give the old people any rest. Most of the inhabitants of the village are killed by the kala. Only one old woman and her boy are left (p. 191).

.538
171

Greenland. — The nine Kungusutorissat are enemies of petulant and disobedient children (Rink, p. 47).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Children play ball, and always make noise, which annoys Raven, who sends feathers down to take them all up. Nearly the whole town disappears. Only a young girl with her little grandmother are left in a small house back of the village (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 94).

3. Big-Raven transforms himself into a girl, and makes of his privates bells and a needle-case (pp. 194, 196, 323).

Miti' transforms herself into a young man (p. 195).

Miti' transforms herself into a man by making a penis out of a stone hammer (p. 323).

White-Whale-Woman transforms herself into a man, and marries a woman of the Fly-Agaric people (p. 310).

Cumberland Sound. — A man decides to transform himself into a woman. A woman loans her husband to him. On the following day he exposes his privates to the sun in order to dry them (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 250).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — An old woman transforms herself into a man by making privates out of a wedge and a stone hammer (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 28).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven (Yētl) turns into a woman, and marries the son of the chief of the Seals (*Ibid.*, p. 319).

4. A man (or woman) is married in a village of supernatural beings. He (or she) wishes to go with his wife (or with her husband) to visit his (or her) parents. The father-in-law or mother-in-law overhears the conversation of the young couple, and advises them to go; or they propose to their son-in-law or daughter-in-law to go on a visit to their relatives (pp. 154, 201, 202, 227).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The son-in-law says to his wife, "I want to go on a visit to my relatives." She asks her father's permission, and the latter consents (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 204).

Such episodes occur very frequently in Indian tales.

Greenland. — The same is mentioned in Rink, p. 209.

5. Big-Raven calls his reindeer. All sorts of beasts come running to him. He strikes each over the nose, and says, "I did not call you." Finally the mice come, and he accepts them as his reindeer (p. 224).

Cumberland Sound. — A mother and a daughter live together. One day the mother says, "I wish some living being would come!" After that, all sorts of beasts come; but the old woman does not want them, and tells them to go away. Only when the foxes come, she invites them in (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 215).

Coast of Washington. — Mink calls the Deer. All kinds of animals appear, and are sent away before the Deer himself appears (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 109).

6. The episode about kala with a human face and a dog's body (p. 191).

Athapascan. — A stranger meets some people who are half men and half dogs (Petitot, p. 170). The wife of Lendix·tcux destroys half of his dog-blanket, and he remains half man and half dog (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 9).

Greenland. — The erkilet have the shape of men in the upper part of their body, but the lower limbs of dogs (Rink, p. 47).

Central Eskimo. — The lower part of the body of the Adlet is that of a dog, while the upper part is that of a man (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 637).

7. In order to escape from being eaten by a kala, Eme'mqut's wife makes him believe that she is his daughter. She pretends to partake of human flesh, but in reality she conceals it in her sleeve (p. 128).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — Out of fear of her husband, the cannibal's wife makes him believe that she is eating human flesh (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 313).

Greenland. — The cannibal's wife conceals under the ashes the human flesh that is given to her by her husband (Rink, p. 108).

Coast of Washington. — A giant sets a dish of reptiles before two men. They pretend to eat, but drop the reptiles through hollow tubes (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 119).

538

171

The same episode (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 56).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Three travellers pretend to eat reptiles, while they conceal them under their blankets (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 120).

8. Big-Raven or Eme'mqut pulls out a post to which the dogs used to be tied, and a herd of reindeer come out (pp. 143, 164, 187).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — A spirit makes a hole in the ground with his spear, and caribou jump out (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 306).

Athapascan. — The Raven keeps caribou in his tent (Petitot, pp. 154, 380).

Algonquin. — A similar episode (Kroeber, *Cheyenne Tales*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XII, p. 47).

9. Big-Raven urinates, and the flood-tide sets in (p. 206).

Rain comes from the vulva of The-One-on-High's wife (p. 242).

Athapascan. — Enno-Guhin or some other person urinates, and makes a river (Petitot, pp. 34, 41, 138).

Cumberland Sound. — One girl stamps on the ice and makes thunder; another urinates and thus makes rain (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 175).

British Columbia. — The Old Man makes rain by urinating (Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 341).

Central Eskimo. — One of three sisters makes rain by urinating (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 600).

10. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut marries a stick or a tree (pp. 255, 256).

Fog-Man marries Driftwood-Woman, who then turns into driftwood (p. 275).

Coast of Alaska. — A trunk of driftwood is the husband of all the women of a village (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 321).

Cumberland Sound. — "A large piece of driftwood, which is a young woman's husband" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

Central Eskimo. — Kiviung finds a woman who lives all alone with her daughter. Her son-in-law is a log of driftwood which has four boughs (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 623).

Old-World and Indian Elements.

1. Eme'mqut says to his wives, "If my lance should shed tears, then I am no longer among the living" (p. 147).

European. — The life-token occurs very often in European tales.

Mongol-Turk. — Seven travellers are going to separate. Each one of them plants a tree, which will wither as soon as the owner dies (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, pp. 145, 147).

Athapascan. — A giant gives a staff to a young man, and tells him that the staff will break in twain as soon as he dies (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 44).

The good giant tells the hero that the clouds will be dyed with his blood, and the sky will become red, as soon as he is vanquished by the race of bad giants (Petitot, p. 138).

2. One-sided guardian (pp. 37, 39, 40).

Gilyak. — One-sided idol (Schrenck, II, p. 743; Plate LIV, Fig. 4).

Tungus. — Two one-sided strong men (tale recorded by the author in manuscript).

Russianized Yukaghir. — Tale of a one-sided man (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 681).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — One-sided man Kasi'no (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 256).

Athapascan. — The one-sided monster Edzil' (Petitot, p. 363).

3. The daughter of the kamak defecates beads and copper rings (p. 324).

Mongol-Turk. — A girl produces beads when blowing her nose (Khudyakoff, p. 88).

A hero vomits and defecates gold (Potanin, II, p. 164).

Yukaghir. — A hero's horse defecates silver coins (Jochelson, *Yukaghir Materials*, p. 52).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A woman pretends to defecate copper pins (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 226).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Qā'ix's son defecates copper (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

538

171

4. Raven enters the carcass of a whale, and after its belly is ripped open, he comes out (p. 339).
   Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, after being swallowed by a kamak, cuts open his belly and comes out (p. 292).
   Big-Raven turns into a reindeer-carcass. A wolf swallows him. He tears out the wolf's heart and comes out (p. 322).
   A similar episode (p. 309).
   Gull-Woman and Cormorant-Woman, after being swallowed by kamaks, cut open their bellies and come out (p. 287).

   Mongol-Turk. — Bird-Monster swallows Geser, the hero of a Mongol-Turk poem. Once inside the bird, he seizes his heart and kills him (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, p. 41).

   Interior of Southern British Columbia. — The Elk swallows Tlē'esa with his raft, and the latter cuts out the Elk's heart (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 3).

   Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The Whale swallows Kwō'teath with raft and brothers, and they cut out the Whale's heart (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 101).

   The Raven and the Mink enter the Whale and kill it (*Ibid.*, p. 171).

   Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Grisly-Bear snuffs in Tsak·. He kills the Bear by starting a fire in his stomach (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 118).

   Coast of Washington. — A monster swallows a youth, who cuts out his heart (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 65).

   Coast of Alaska. — The Raven induces the Whale to swallow him, pecks his heart, and kills him (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 316).

   Algonquin. — King-fish swallows Manabozho with his canoe. He kills the fish by attacking its heart (Schoolcraft).

   Athapascan. — Beaver swallows ʟendix·tcux, who kills it by cutting and roasting its heart (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13).

5. The Foxes are cooking meat. Big-Raven is hungry. He flies about the Foxes' house, eats the greasy part of the ladder, and swallows the lamp. With a piece of meat the Fox baits a hook and throws it upward. Big-Raven swallows it. The line snaps, the hook remaining in his jaw. Big-Raven flies away to the wilderness, and, finding a Wolf, says to him, "Let us have a vomiting-match." He begins to vomit, and soon vomits up the lamp, the ladder, and the hook (p. 318).

   Mongol-Turk. — Fox, after eating much ox-fat, meets a Wolf, and says, "Let us have a vomiting-match, and see who will vomit fat." They begin the match, but only the Fox vomits fat (Potanin, IV, p. 553).

   Interior of Southern British Columbia. — A similar vomiting-match between Coyote and the Cannibal Owl (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 9; see also Boas, *Mythology of the Navaho*, p. 372).

6. Triton-Man's heart is hidden in his tent, in a box. Eme'mqut can kill him only after finding his heart and destroying it (p. 230).

   The story of a giant who was invulnerable and immortal because he had put his heart or soul in a safe place, is world-wide (Jevons, p. 17).

   Mongol-Turk. — A monster-woman cannot be killed until her "soul," which has the form of a snake hidden in an iron box, is burned (Khudyakoff, pp. 127, 128).

   Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The hero hides his soul in order to avoid being killed (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 245).

   Coast of Oregon. — A woman-monster cannot be killed until her heart, hidden in her hat, is torn out and thrown into the sea (Boas, *Traditions of Tillamook Indians*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, p. 38).

   Athapascan. — The Bear-Woman holds her "life" hidden in a basket. She falls down dead after the basket is shot through (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 22).

   Micmac. — A similar episode (Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 245).

7. The five-headed kamak (p. 323).
   The double-headed reindeer of Earth-Maker (p. 300).

   Mongol-Turk. — Among the many-headed monsters of the Old World may be mentioned the fifty-eight-headed monster (Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 66), the iron seven-headed strong man (Khudyakoff, p. 187), and the twenty-five-headed snake (Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 70).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Two-headed snake (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 41, 58, 81, 195, 271).

Coast of Washington. — A two-headed boy (FARRAND, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124).

A two-headed swan (BOAS, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 107).

8. In order to restore a dead person to life, reindeer-blood is poured over his head (pp. 130, 228, 229, 230; see also p. 351).

European. — Water of life used as a means of bringing dead persons and bones back to life is found in many European tales.

Mongol-Turk. — Three bottles of water of life occur in a Yakut tale (KHUDYAKOFF, p. 127).

In one Buryat tale a heroine finds water of life on a high mountain (KHANGALOFF and SATOPLAEFF, p. 37).

Water of life is mentioned in a Tangut variant of Geser (POTANIN, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, p. 22).

Ostyak. — The heroes of Ostyak tales find water of life in the underground world (PATKANOV, *The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 51).

Chukchee. — Bladders with water of life (BOGORAS, *Chukchee Materials*, p. XXIV).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — See BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 161, 192, 196, 206, 236, 255).

9. An old man hides Eme'mqut in his belt when the cannibal kalau come (p. 129).

Mongol-Turk. — The protector of a hero hides him in his pocket while fighting with a monster (POTANIN, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, pp. 115, 116).

Athapascan. — The good-natured giant puts a man in his slate knife-scabbard (PETITOT, p. 136).

ESKIMO, INDIAN, AND OLD-WORLD ELEMENTS.

1. Raven-Man orders several pairs of boots for a journey to the sky (p. 250).

Coast of Washington. — A chief has many pairs of moccasins and leggings made, and walks eastward to visit the Sun (BOAS, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 26).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A girl makes several blankets and boots for the journey to the Sun (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 15).

A man makes a hundred pairs of boots for a journey (*Ibid.*, p. 41).

Eskimo, Cumberland Sound. — Kiviuq asks his wife to make him several pairs of new mittens for his journey (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

Eskimo, Greenland. — A woman packs up a bundle of boots as well as several pairs of new soles for a journey (RINK, p. 209).

Mongol-Turk. — In a Kirghis tale the traveller orders iron boots (POTANIN, II, p. 42).

European. — The passage of a hero who orders three pairs of iron boots, three iron hats, and three iron staffs, when starting in search of his wife or bride, is wide-spread in Old-World tales (BOGORAS, *Anthropologist*, p. 613).

2. Some ornaments are thrown backward in order to detain pursuers (p. 219).

Kutka defecates all kinds of berries in order to detain pursuers (STELLER, p. 263).

Eme'mqut throws some berries into the boat of his pursuers in order to detain them (p. 286).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The pursuer is detained by throwing in his way some things belonging to his child (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 210).

Stars pursue fugitives, who throw away tobacco, paint, and sling-stones. The Stars stop and paint their faces (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 92).

Also widely known on the Great Plains.

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — The father of a girl who is being pursued by her husband tells her to throw backward various things in order to delay the pursuit (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 318).

Cumberland Sound. — A man pursued by a monster makes a great many berries by means of sorcery. The monster sees them, stops and eats a great many (*Ibid.*, p. 177).

Greenland. — A girl pursued by her husband, the Whale, throws backward parts of her clothing in order to detain the Whale (RINK, p. 128).

European. — In the Greek legend of the Argonauts, Medea and Jason, pursued in their flight by Medea's father, kill her brother, and scatter the fragments of his body on the sea. Her father pausing for the burial of the remains, they gain time for their escape.

3. The magic flight, or the throwing-back by pursued people of different objects, such as a chip of wood, a stone, etc., which turn into a forest, a mountain-ridge, or a river (pp. 112, 187, 257).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A pursued deer throws back a piece of fat, which turns into a lake; he then throws some of his hair, which turns into woods (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 187). (See also pp. 99, 164, 224, 240, 268).

Cumberland Sound. — For a similar episode, see Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 177.

Central Eskimo. — A similar episode (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 619).

Athapascan. — Pursued men throw parts of a caribou stomach over their shoulders, which are transformed into mountains (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 260).

Coast of Washington. — Wild-cat, pursued by a woman-monster, turns his dog into a mountain, which the old woman has to climb (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 116).

Samoyed. — Two women, pursued by a cannibal, throw back a comb and a steel of a strike-a-light, which turn into a forest and a mountain (Castren, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 165).

Russian. — Episodes of the magic flight are found in the tales of Russians on the Kolyma and Anadyr Rivers, and of the Russianized Yukaghir (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 673).

4. Eme'mqut kills the ancient ancestral old woman, takes off her skin, and puts it on in order to look like her (p. 322).

Mongol-Turk. — Geser kills the monster Dyr and his horse. He puts on Dyr's skin in order to look like him, and on his own steed he puts the skin of the killed horse (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, p. 26).

A woman-monster kills a young beauty, takes off the skin of her face and puts it on, in order to look like the beautiful woman (Khudyakoff, p. 82).

Algonquin. — Manabozho kills a female spirit in the disguise of an old woman, takes off her skin, and puts it on in order to look like her (Schoolcraft, p.41).

He kills the prince of serpents, takes off his skin, and puts it on (*Ibid.*, p.42).

Central Eskimo. — Old woman kills young woman, and puts on her skin (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 624).

Athapascan. — Fisher and Marten kill two women and put on their skins, in order to look like them (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 41).

5. Animals throw off their skins and turn into human beings (pp. 131, 156, 338).

Mongol-Turk and European. — In the tales of the Old World, episodes occur in which female birds (mainly swans) take off their plumage, and bathe in the form of women; for example, story of seven storks (Khudyakoff, p. 76), tales of three Swan-Women (*Traditions of the Buryat*, pp. 114, 115, 125), tale of Swan-Women (Potanin, IV, p. 24).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Wolves take off their skins, and turn into men (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 86).

Thunder-birds take off their plumage, and turn into human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 97).

Geese take off their plumage, and turn into human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 147).

Eagles take off their plumage, and turn into human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 203).

Cumberland Sound. — A fox takes off her skin, and turns into a woman (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 224).

Athapascan. — A woman destroys the dog-blanket of her children, and they retain human form (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 9).

A marmot takes off her skin, and is transformed into a stout woman (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 263).

6. Big-Raven makes wooden reindeer, and they come to life (p. 22).

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut makes a wooden whale, and it comes to life (p. 232).

Eme'mqut makes a wooden whale (p. 286).

Mongol-Turk. — Geser makes a horse from bark, and it comes to life (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, p. 62).

Seven travellers make a wooden bird, and it comes to life (*Ibid.*, p. 148).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Raven makes wooden fish, and they come to life (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 174).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A carved squirrel comes to life (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 231).

Raven makes wooden fish, and they come to life (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 209, 242).

Central Eskimo. — A man is busy chopping chips from a piece of wood. The chips are transformed into salmon (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 617).

Athapascan. — A boy, with the aid of magic, turns a drawing of a horse into a real horse (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 42).

Coast of Washington. — Grouse makes a wooden seal and sends it to sea (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 102).

7. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut sees from heaven what is going on on earth (p. 307).

Earth-Maker looks down on the earth through an opening in the sky (p. 301).

Mongol-Turk. — Geser's wife sees through a window in the sky what is going on on the earth (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, p. 11).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Two sisters see the earth through a hole in heaven (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 62).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The hole in the floor of the house of the heaven chief (*Ibid.*, pp. 237, 279; Boas, *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 83).

Cumberland Sound. — The hole in the sky (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 339).

Greenland. — The same (Rink, p. 468).

Athapascan. — Two sisters, removed by stars into the sky, look through the holes and see what is going on on the earth (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 39).

8. A man becomes a cannibal, and devours all the inhabitants of the village, and his relatives (pp. 295, 302).

Mongol-Turk. — Child-monster in the Kirghis tale (see p. 351).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Cannibal kills all the people except his uncle, who kills him (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 164).

Cumberland Sound. — A man becomes a cannibal, and kills all the people of the village (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 258).

Greenland. — Child-monster (Rink, p. 258).

Indian Elements.

1. In a shaman contest, one shaman woman calls the reindeer to the roof of the house, the other brings the sea into the house (pp. 140, 218).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Water fills the house (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 95). The thunder-bird causes the water in the sea to rise, and fill the house (*Ibid.*, p. 134).

2. To punish the Seals, who mal-treated his daughter, Big-Raven conceals all the sea-water, and the bottom of the sea dries up. When the guilty Seals are dead, he lets the water out again, and the rest of the sea-animals revive (p. 154).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Lôgôbola' causes the water to be lost (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 18).

3. Dogs, in the absence of their master (Big-Raven's family), put on embroidered coats, sing, beat the drums, etc. (p. 127).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Tales about the children of the woman and a dog, who take off their dog-skins in their mother's absence, and assume a human appearance (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 25, 93, 114, 132, 263).

Coast of Alaska. — Tale of dog-children (Krause, p. 259).

Athapascan. — The same episode (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 9; Petitot, p. 314; Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 37).

Coast of Washington. — Story of dog-children (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 127; Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 155; Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 17).

4. Big-Raven is caught on a hook baited with meat. Straining with all his might, he snaps the line and carries off the hook, which sticks in his jaw (p. 318).

538
171

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Txä'msên steals bait of the fishermen from their hooks. His jaw is caught and torn off (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 51).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The Raven, Ō'meatl, is caught on a hook baited with meat. He holds on to the bottom of the boat until his nose is broken off (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 172).

Coast of Alaska. — Yētl, the Raven, steals bait from the fish-hooks, and is caught. He holds on to the bottom of the sea until his nose is broken off, which is hauled to the surface (*Ibid.*, p. 314).

5. Raven-Man and Little-Bird-Man are competitors in a marriage-suit. Raven-Man acts basely and foolishly, and is vanquished by Little-Bird-Man (pp. 143, 250).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Raven and Small-Bird are neighbors. Raven acts foolishly in his encounter with a supernatural being; while Small-Bird is very wise, and therefore successful (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 26, 106, 245).

6. Little-Bird-Man and Kala-Woman throw stones at each other. Bird-Man rises in the air, and Kala-Woman's stone passes under his feet. Little-Bird-Man throws a stone, strikes Kala-Woman, and breaks her leg (p. 172).

Coast of Alaska. — The wife of a one-eyed monster which had been killed by Yētl, the Raven, says to the latter, "Come on! let us throw knives at each other." The woman throws hers first, and Yētl turns into a raven, rises in the air, and the knife passes under his feet. Thereupon Yētl throws a knife, and cuts off the woman's feet (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 319).

7. The Seals tie Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's tongue to prevent her telling how she was maltreated in the Seal settlement (p. 153).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The Cormorant's tongue is torn out, that he may not tell of the things that he has seen (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 176, 244; *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 43).

Coast of Alaska. — The same episode (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 317; Krause, p. 266).

8. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, having reached heaven, wraps fish, sea-mammals, and other animals in a seal-skin; and a famine occurs on earth, which lasts until she opens her bundle (p. 307).

Eme'mqut catches mountain-sheep, puts them in his coat, and, coming to the house of a kamak, empties his catch before the house (p. 323).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Transformer's mother keeps salmon in a blanket. He stakes this blanket in a contest between himself and a young man whom he meets. The latter wins, dips the hem of the blanket into the water, and the fish appear (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 202, 262).

9. Big-Raven transforms a little kala into a line, which is stolen by neighbors and fastened to a harpoon. Eme'mqut enters a whale, induces the villagers to harpoon it, and then carries off the line (p. 286).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A man assumes the shape of a salmon, induces a fisherman to harpoon him, and steals the harpoon (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 13, 16, 23, 64, 66, 201, 248).

For the same episode see Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia*, Boston, 1898, p. 43.

Athapascan. — Lendix·tcux turns himself into a salmon, is speared by Sea-Gull, but cuts off the head of the spear, and swims away (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 11).

For a similar episode see Petitot, p. 33.

10. Big-Raven reproaches Miti' because she has no relatives (p. 168).

Eme'mqut reproaches his wife for having neither father nor mother (p. 208).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Copper-Maker's mother reproaches her daughter-in-law, the Brilliant-One, for having no relatives (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 188).

People reproach the Mink for having neither father nor mother (*Ibid.*, p. 157).

11. The Crab Avvi hides the fresh water. Big-Raven, by some device, drinks it all, then vomits it, and thus forms the rivers on earth (p. 311).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Raven's sisters keep guard over the fresh water. By a ruse, Raven gets access to the water, and drinks it all. He urinates, and thus rivers and lakes are formed on earth (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 174).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — An old man has a pail of fresh water while there is no water on earth as yet. It is hidden in the ground, beneath the roots of the trees. Raven drinks the water, and then lets it fall by drops, wherefrom lakes and rivers are formed (*Ibid.*, p. 209).

Raven steals water from a chief (*Ibid.*, p. 232).

Txä'msem, by strategy, takes all the water from a chief, and flies away. The water runs out of his blanket, and forms rivers (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 26).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven steals the fresh water from the eagle Kanūk (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 313; Krause, p. 259).

12. Big-Raven makes a man out of his wiping-rag (p. 218).

Big-Raven's excrement turns into a woman (p. 316).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink makes a man out of his excrement (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 159).

A girls turns her excrement into a bird (*Ibid.*, p. 38).

Athapascan. — Raven turns excrement into canoes and men (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, pp. 16, 17).

13. A shaman is given the daughter of a sick man whom he cured, or a girl whom he cured or revived, for his wife (pp. 239, 248, 277).

A woman shaman is married to a man whom she cured (p. 223).

Coast of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A shaman, for curing a woman, is given her daughter in marriage (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 149, 190, 238, 255).

Ts'ak· cures a chief's daughter, and she gives herself to him in marriage (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 125).

14. In order to get Eme'mqut's wives, Illa' tries to kill him. He calls him into the forest to take the gum out of a larch-tree, causes the tree to fall upon him, and thus kills him. When he comes home, he finds Eme'mqut sitting with his wives (p. 147).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Gyī'i's father-in-law, who kills all of his daughter's suitors, tries to kill him also. He asks his assistance in splitting a cedar-log, drives his wedge into the tree, lets his hammer fall into the crack, and asks Gyī'i to get it. When he obeys, his father-in-law pulls out the wedge, and Gyī'i is apparently crushed, and his blood flows out; but when his father-in-law reaches the canoe, he finds Gyī'i in the prow (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 137).

For the same episode see *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 67, 70, 118, 198.

Coast of Alaska. — For the same episode see Krause, p. 256.

Coast of Washington. — For a similar episode see Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 34.

15. Eme'mqut wishes to marry the daughter of the Sun, who kills all her suitors. His father dissuades him at first, but finally advises him to stop, on his way, at the house of his sisters, who advise him what to do (p. 162).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Gyī'i wishes to marry the daughter of one of the ancestors of the Nimkish tribe, who kills all her suitors. His father dissuades him at first, but finally advises him to stop, on his way, at the camp of his aunts, who tell him how to act (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 135).

16. A magpie comes flying to the kamaks with news from their daughter, and sits on the chimney. They wish to throw something at it; but it says, "I have come with news from your daughter" (p. 173).

A ground-spider crawls over Eme'mqut's body. He throws it down, saying, "Can't you find another place?" But the spider, turning into an old woman, replies, "Thou art wrong in throwing me: I have brought news for thee" (p. 145).

A ground-spider crawls over Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. She throws it on the ground, and says, "Have you no other place to crawl about!" But the spider, turning into an old woman, says, "I have come with news for you" (p. 125).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A deserted woman sends Raven with some food to her grandmother. The grandmother takes a stone to throw at the raven; but the latter says, "Don't do that! thy grand-daughter sends me" (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 133).

538
171

17. Eme'mqut kills the dog that married his sister (p. 255).
Creator kills the dog that came to his daughter at night (p. 183).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A father kills the dog that he found with his daughter (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 132).

18. A contest between Eme'mqut's wife and that of Envious-One as to who will urinate farther (p. 140).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The wanderer Qäls and the strong man Sx'äis have a contest as to who can urinate farther (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 21).

19. Kalau keep bears instead of dogs (pp. 127, 166), and mountain-sheep instead of reindeer (p. 241).
Bear-People keep bears instead of dogs (p. 156).
Big-Raven uses mice instead of reindeer (pp. 188, 224).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — People on the other side of the sea keep seals instead of dogs (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 88, 120).
Coast of Oregon. — People on the other side of the sea keep sea-otters instead of dogs (Boas, *Traditions of the Tillamook Indians*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, p. 30).
Athapascan. — A giant keeps bears and other animals instead of dogs (Petitot, p. 139).

20. Big-Raven steals dried fish from the Reindeer people (p. 183).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A spirit or bear steals dried fish out of the houses of the Indians (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 78, 149, 189, 207, 254, 256).
Raven steals fish from the Cormorant (*Ibid.*, p. 244).
Grisly-Bear steals fish from Ts'ak· (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 117).

21. Eme'mqut, who is deserted by his wife, the White-Whale-Woman, searches for her, crying, and his tears fall down like rain (p. 310).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A Beaver cries from jealousy, and produces rain with his tears (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 36, 80).
Coast of Washington. — Beaver cries from jealousy, and produces a deluge (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 23).

22. Sculpin-Man kills and eats his travelling-companions (p. 192).
Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Txä'msem asks Deer to accompany him, and kills him (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 64).
Coast of Alaska. — Raven kills and eats his travelling-companion, the Deer (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 315).

23. Small pieces of bodies of whales and seals are thrown into the water with the idea that they will be transformed into living animals — Kamchadal and Koryak (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 660).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Bones of salmon or other animals are thrown into the water to be transformed into living fish or other animals (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 27, 104, 210, 266; *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 76).
The chief of the Squirrels asks a young man to burn the meat and bones of the squirrels whom he has killed, and thus to restore the Squirrel people to life (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 212).
Ponca. — Bones of beaver are thrown into the water to be transformed into living beaver (Dorsey, *The Cegiha Language*, p. 557).
Athapascan. — Bones of Salmon-Boy are thrown into the water, and he comes to life again (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 24).
Coast of Washington. — Two Salmon-Boys are killed for food, but their bones are saved and thrown into the water, and the boys come to life again (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 112).

24. A giantess carries away children in a basket, but they succeed in making good their escape (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 623).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A monster-woman does the same (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 57, 110, 224, 241, 249).

25. The chamber-vessel of kalau assails Creator (p. 176).
At the inspiration of Big-Raven, the chamber-vessels talk (p. 165).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The chamber-vessel of a stump talks (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 268; see also pp. 101, 172, 177, 213, 233).

26. By means of a ruse, Big-Raven eats the berries stored by the women (p. 184).

538

171

Coasts of Southern and Northern British Columbia. — Raven eats the berries picked by his sisters, whom he scares away by means of a ruse (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 77).

Raven eats the berries of two women by frightening them, saying that enemies are coming (*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 178, 210, 244).

27. Big-Raven makes believe that he is dead, and is placed in a separate underground house (p. 224).

Athapascan. — Raven pretends to die, and is placed under his canoe on the shore (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 17).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink makes believe that he is dead (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 33, 78).

The same episode (Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts*, p. 286).

28. Big-Raven or other people who have been for some time in the anus or stomach of an animal grow bald (pp. 169, 293).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Two boys lose their hair from having been inside of a whale (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 51).

The Mink grows bald from having been in the stomach of a whale (*Ibid.*, p. 75).

29. Big-Raven marries Excrement-Woman, who melts in the warm house (p. 316).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink marries Gum-Woman, who melts in the warm daytime (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 44).

Kwo'tiath goes to sleep with the Gum-Girls. In the morning they melt, and stick to Kwo'tiath (*Ibid.*, p. 100).

30. Eme'mqut comes to the Stone-Hammer people, and marries one of their girls (p. 200).

Illa' strikes the stone heads of the Stone-Hammer-Men against one another for his own pleasure (p. 202).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A hammer comes to a girl at night in the shape of a man (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 25, 41).

A tribe of people with stone heads (*Ibid.*, p. 61).

Coast of Washington. — Misp finds people upside down, using their heads as hammers. He turns them right side up, and gives them stone hammers (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 85).

31. Children are born immediately after marriage, or merely from the contact of the hero with a woman (pp. 226, 319, 323, 335).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — To be found in many Indian tales; for instance, Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 40, 136.

Coast of Washington. — A piece of flint flies into the body of a little girl, who immediately gives birth to a boy (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 125).

32. The telling of a certain tale causes the rain to stop (p. 142).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A certain tale is told, when the rain lasts a long time, in order to bring clear weather (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 22).

33. Eme'mqut cuts off Kĭlu''s leg, and with it kills the kamaks (p. 187).

Interior of Southern British Columbia. — A rabbit pulls out its leg, and, handling it like a hammer, kills a bear and its cubs (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 11).

34. The Fox takes out her eyes and pounds them with a stone, then she makes for herself new eyes of blackberries (p. 321).

For a similar episode see pp. 182, 266.

Interior of British Columbia. — Coyote takes out his eyes and flings them upward: they are caught by a gull. He makes for himself other eyes of some berries (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 8).

Navaho. — Coyote plays with his eyes, tears them out of their sockets, and throws them up (Matthew, *Navaho Legends*, p. 90).

Algonquin. — The same episode (Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 153).

35. Big-Raven's people kill a whale, and, carrying its meat to camp, they fling small pieces of it at one another, which they try to catch in their open mouths (p. 324).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Children throw pieces of seal-blubber at one another (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 42).

538

171

36. Kamaks come to a house, find blubber and eat it. They sing to the people, "It tastes well, the blubber; but when there is no more blubber, we shall eat you" (p. 293).

Coast of Washington. — A monster eats all the meat, and says to the people, "What shall I eat now? there are only skins and you" (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 31).

37. Fox offers to cure the Bear, who has been wounded by a man. He inserts into the wound a red-hot stone, which burns the Bear to death (pp. 185, 188).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven causes the Loon to swallow a red-hot stone, and afterward to drink water, so that her intestines are scalded (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 317).

Coast of Washington. — Coyote, disguised as a warrior, wounds Raccoon so that fat comes out of the wound. When Raccoon comes home, Coyote, under pretence of curing him, pulls out the fat and kills him (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 153).

California. — Deer's children kill Bear by throwing hot rock into her mouth. (Dixon, *Maidu Myths*, p. 81).

38. Kamak-Woman says to a tall tree, "Bend down your head" (p. 213).

Fox says to the cross-beam in the house of the kamaks, "Get up higher!" and then, "Bend down to the ground" (p. 181).

Kutq's wife says to a large tree, "Raise your top" (p. 331).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Coyote makes the tree which his son has climbed rise to the sky (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 17).

Algonquin. — Manabozho says to the tree on which he is sitting during the flood, "Stretch yourself" (Schoolcraft, p. 39).

Athapascan. — Old man, by magic, makes tree which young man has climbed grow higher and higher, until young man cannot return (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 29).

An arrow rises to the sky, and drags up a man (Petitot, pp. 128, 355).

39. A shaman mends the broken leg of a kala-woman, but one piece of the bone he cannot find: therefore the leg is not perfect (p. 173).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A bone of a dead animal is missing, and when he is revived, he is not perfect (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 149, 255, 260).

Athapascan. — A bone of the dead Raven is missing. When revived, he is not perfect (Petitot, p. 37).

40. Čan·a'vile catches a great quantity of fish. He eats a raw head, and shuts his eyes. Meanwhile Wolves (at another time Bears) come, grab the fish, and fight over them. Čan·a'vile says, "Don't fight: just take as much as you like." When he opens his eyes, no Wolves, Bears, or Fish are there (p. 174).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The booty of a hunter or fisher is eaten while he sleeps (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 7, 74, 232; Krause, p. 265).

Gulls eat the Giant's olachen (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 31).

41. Gull-Man calls all kinds of birds to marry his sister. One after another is refused, until the Paroquet-Auk-Man comes (p. 198).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A mother calls all kinds of animals to marry her daughter. Finally a chief from heaven is accepted (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 222 also Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 283).

42. Eme'mqut marries his sister. Their son grows up and hunts ducks. The ducks say, "Your father is your mother's own brother." The boy comes running home and tells what the ducks have said to him (p. 154).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A man marries his sister. They have a boy. The boy grows up and goes out to hunt. One evening he comes from hunting, and asks his mother, "Is not father your relative, you look so like him?" (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 37).

43. Big-Raven tells the kalau that when he is fattened, fat hangs from his body, and runs off his fingers (p. 185).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Seal holds his hands near the fire, and fat runs off his fingers into a bowl, and is offered to Raven (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 57).

Seal holds his hands over the fire, and the fat which runs off is offered to his guests. Raven wishes to imitate him, but only scorches his fingers (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

171

538

Bear holds his hands over a bowl, and he treats Raven to it. Raven is unable to do the same (*Ibid.*, p. 106).

Seal lets fat run off his fingers, and treats his guests to it (*Ibid.*, p. 177).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Seal holds his hands over the fire, lets the fat run off his fingers, and gives it to Raven and his sister (Boas, *Ibid.*, p. 245).

Young-Seal invites the Raven to a feast. She holds her hands over a dish, and grease drops into the dish (Boas: *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 93; *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 47).

44. Big-Raven enters Miti''s anus as though it were an underground house (p. 169).

Big-Raven, his wife, and his daughters put their heads into their anuses, imagining that they are travelling (p. 190).

A little mouse is sent by his sister, the Mouse-Woman, into the anus of Annamayat in order to make him ill (p. 223).

Kutq enters the vulva of his wife (p. 341; Steller, p. 263).

Kamak takes his wife on his shoulders, and his head slips into her anus (p. 293).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The old man Pē'txᴇl becomes a snake, and enters Xäls' anus (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 22).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Ts'ak· comes out at Grisly Bear's anus (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 117).

Athapascan. — The Mink and the Weasel are sent by the Mouse into Sensible's anus in order to destroy him (Petitot, p. 142).

A man cuts off the penis of a giant and enters the giant's body through the opening (*Ibid.*, p. 137).

45. Miti' interchanges the position of her vulva and her anus, and puts her breasts on her back (p. 169).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Xäls meets a woman with her sexual organs on her breast, and puts them in their proper place. Xäls meets a man and a woman with their sexual organs on their foreheads, and puts them in their proper place (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 23).

46. A woman-kala's anus is armed with teeth (p. 166).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A woman's vagina is armed with teeth (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 24, 30, 66, 69).

Athapascan. — The hero has intercourse with woman, after first breaking out teeth in vagina with magic staff (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13).

47. An arrow, being shot, makes a path to the sky (pp. 293, 304).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A chain of arrows makes a path to the sky (Boas: *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 17, 31, 64, 65, 68, 117, 157, 173, 215, 234, 246, 278; *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 88).

Coast of Washington. — People climb arrow-chain and arrive in sky-country (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 108; Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 11).

Athapascan. — Salmon-Boy makes pile of feathers, lies down, and his sister blows on the feathers, and the young man is carried up to the sky (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 24).

Two brothers are carried up to the sky by an arrow (Petitot, p. 128).

48. Arrows of kalau are invisible to men (p. 121).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Arrows of men are invisible to spirits (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 94, 99, 149, 190, 238, 254, 289).

Micmac. — The same episode (Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 87).

49. Eme'mqut, in search of his brother who has been killed by the kalau, overcomes them, and finds in their possession the skin of his brother, which is spread over a bed, like a reindeer-skin (p. 130).

Creator finds the skin of his son Big-Light in the house of the kalau (p. 176).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The hero discovers the skin of his murdered friend in the house of his enemy (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 75).

50. Two girls are married to two invisible kalau, who visit them at night and lie down with them, assuming the shape of young men. Later on they become visible, and live with them openly (p. 151).

538

Athapascan. — A man lives with Cloud-Woman, who first appears only in the form of a fog, but later becomes a woman (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ä'ut*, p. 265).

A man marries an invisible woman (Petitot, p. 121).

171

51. Big-Raven, or Fox, urges other persons to flee, under the pretext that enemies are coming, and takes their provisions (pp. 164, 188, 189, 318).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Raven (or other person), urges people to flee, under the pretext that enemies are coming, and takes away their provisions (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 107, 172, 233).

Coast of Alaska. — The same episode about the Raven (*Ibid.*, p. 316).

Coast of Washington. — Rabbit makes people believe that a war-party is coming. They run away, and he steals all their salmon (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 75).

52. Tomwo'get (Self-created), the grandson of Big-Raven, kills his father, thus avenging his mother's death (p. 244).

Algonquin. — Manabozho learns from his grandmother, the Moon's daughter, that his mother was killed by his father, the West-Wind, and starts to kill him (Schoolcraft, p. 18).

53. Raven-Man swallows the sun because Big-Raven declines to give his daughter to him in marriage, whereupon the earth is plunged into darkness. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, tickles the Raven-Man who swallowed the sun: he opens his mouth, and sets the sun free (p. 252).

Pacific Coast. — This corresponds to the episodes of the raven cycle of the Pacific coast, in which the Raven liberates the sun (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 360, No. 157).

54. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Kïlu' marry Fish-Men, whereupon Big-Raven's family begin to fish (p. 296).

Big-Raven's people had nothing to eat. He finds and marries the Salmon-Woman. She spawns, and the people eat the spawn. In his absence, Miti' kills her, and cooks her flesh. Raven comes home, and dines on the cooked salmon; but Salmon-Woman suddenly steps out of the dark store-room, denounces Miti', and departs for the sea, notwithstanding the entreaties of Big-Raven. Then Big-Raven's family starve (p. 292).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink marries Salmon-Woman. Salmon-Woman picks her teeth, and throws the pickings into a dish. They turn into a salmon, which is cooked, and serves as food for the Mink. After a while, Salmon-Woman, angered by the brutality of her husband, departs for the river, notwithstanding his entreaties, and Mink has no more salmon (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 159).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Raven catches a fish, which turns into a woman. Raven marries her, and then catches many salmon (*Ibid.*, p. 246).

Txä'msem marries a Salmon-Woman, and thus obtains salmon. He scolds her, and all the salmon disappear (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 237).

Coast of Washington. — A man marries a Salmon-Girl, and the Quinault River gets plenty of salmon (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 112).

Athapascan. — A man marries a Marmot-Woman, and he kills many marmots (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ä'ut*, p. 263).

55. The Wolf kills Ptarmigan-Man's reindeer; and Ptarmigan-Man, by magic, turns them into ptarmigans, which fly away (p. 212).

Miti' cooks a meal. Fox-Woman kicks the kettle, and turns it over. Then the meat of a mountain-sheep comes back to life, and walks out of the house (p. 321).

Athapascan. — "Moss-Child," by means of incantation, revives the flesh of killed bulls. They run away, and the people starve (Petitot, p. 192).

Efwa-e'ke' revives killed birds, which fly away (*Ibid.*, p. 223).

A dried salmon hanging on the roof hits Raven's head. He is angry, and throws it outdoors, where it comes to life, and revives the other salmon, and they all escape to the water (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 19).

Marmot-Woman revives the dried meat of killed marmots. She throws on it the skins, and all the marmots run up the hills (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ä'ut*, p. 265).

56. Arrows supplied with eyes fly without a bow wherever they are sent (pp. 125, 186).

Coast of Alaska. — The Raven Yētl transforms a bird into an arrow, which flies to wherever Raven points (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 318).

538

171

57. Little Bird-Man and Kala-Woman have a contest in enduring intense heat. Little Bird-Man wins by trickery (p. 172).

Big-Raven receives the kalau as guests, seats them on the cross-beam, closes the smoke-hole, and produces an intense heat. The kalau implore him to let them off (p. 149).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A visitor's endurance is tried with a hot sweat-bath, which is heated more than usual for that purpose (Boas, *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 79).

Coast of Washington. — Bluejay and his comrades are challenged to stay in a hot sweat-house with some of the village people. They accept, and win by strategy (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 114).

Bluejay and supernatural beings have a contest in enduring intense heat. Bluejay wins by trickery (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 58).

Athapascan. — Sun puts a boy into an iron sweat-house, and heats it very hot (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 25).

58. Big-Raven's daughters make a whale and swim off in it (pp. 21, 232, see Fig. 1).

Eme'mqut and Envious-One enter an iron dog-salmon and launch upon the sea (p. 163).

Eme'mqut makes a wooden whale and swims off in it (p. 286).

Kutq's daughters find a whale, enter its body, and float on the sea (p. 337).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — One or several persons enter a whale, which takes them home (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 89).

59. Big-Raven puts out the light in the house of the kamaks by throwing snow on it, and in the darkness he carries off their daughter (p. 210).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The Mink, or some other hero, pours water over the fire in order to carry off a woman in the ensuing darkness (Boas' *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 43, 56, 260, 300).

60. Big-Raven brings food home in a miraculous way: wood and ice which he carries turn into fish and seal-fat. His daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, whom he sends for food, is unable to procure anything (p. 231).

Big-Raven transforms ice into whale-meat, then steams himself in a ditch; and when he rises, roast meat of four bears appears, which he gives to the son of the Fox to take home. The Fox wishes to imitate him, but is unable to do so. When he begins to heap coals around himself, he burns himself to death (p. 315).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Raven, or some other transformer, wishes to imitate a person who treats his guests in a miraculous way, but is unable to do so (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 76, 106, 177, 245, 300, 302).

Txä'msem fails to imitate his host (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 49).

Algonquin. — Woodpecker and Moose treat Manabozho by procuring food in a miraculous way. Moose cuts out some flesh from his wife's body, and roasts it for his guest. His wife's wound heals immediately. When Manabozho invites Woodpecker and Moose to his house, he is unable to treat them in the same manner. When he cuts the flesh from his wife, she screams and dies (Schoolcraft, pp. 43 et seq.).

Athapascan. — Raven fails to imitate the host in procuring berries and salmon-eggs by use of magic (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 18).

Coast of Washington. — Bluejay fails to imitate hosts in providing food by magical means (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 85-91).

Bluejay fails to imitate his host in procuring meat in a miraculous way (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 177).

Ponca. — Ictinike fails to imitate the host in procuring meat in a miraculous way (Dorsey, *The Cegiha Language*, p. 557).

Navaho. — Coyote fails to imitate Porcupine and Wolf in the same way (Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, p. 87).

Micmac. — The same episode is told about the Rabbit (Rand, *Legends of the Micmac*, pp. 300, 302).

61. Big-Raven takes his reflection in the water for a woman, throws presents at her, and then throws himself into the river (pp. 264, 326).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A she-bear sees in a pool the reflection of a deer and a fawn who have escaped from her and are sitting in a tree. She throws herself into the water, which freezes (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 168).

For similar episodes see *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 114.

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A Cannibal-Woman sees in water the reflection of men who have escaped from her and are sitting in a tree. She throws herself into the water, which freezes (*Ibid.*, p. 253).

Coast of Washington. — Hōhōkōs sees in the river the reflection of a girl who has escaped from him and is sitting on a tree. He takes off his clothes and jumps in to get her (FARRAND, *Quinault Indians*, p. 123).

62. The idea of heroes being able to exercise influence mentally at a distance, thus causing others to do what they wish them to (in many tales).

Pacific Coast. — The same in the myths of the Indians of the Pacific coast (in many tales).

63. Big-Raven's son, driven away by his father, becomes a powerful man, and does not get reconciled to his father (p. 240).

The deserted daughter of Big-Raven, raised to heaven, takes vengeance on her father (pp. 305-307).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The deserted boy becomes a powerful man, and takes vengeance on those who deserted him (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 51).

The punished or insulted boy takes to the woods, and acquires supernatural powers (*Ibid.*, pp. 151, 162, 253, 266).

Athapascan. — The same episode (PETITOT, p. 324).

64. By putting on the skins of animals, the wearer transforms himself into an animal (pp. 131, 135, 156).

Big-Raven and Eme'mqut put on their raven coats and fly up (p. 142).

Creator puts on his raven coat, turns into raven, and flies away (p. 149).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A man puts on a seal-skin, and turns into a seal (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 121).

Mountain-sheep say that they are men dressed in sheep-skins (*Ibid.*, p. 169).

Two boys put on the skins taken from killed birds, and fly off (*Ibid.*, p. 170).

Ō'meatl puts on a raven's coat and flies away (*Ibid.*, p. 175).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A boy catches a bird, skins it, puts the skin on, and flies (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 10).

Ts'ak· puts on skins taken from killed birds, and flies off (*Ibid.*, pp. 126, 127).

Chief's son puts on a gull-skin and flies off (*Ibid.*, p. 179).

Athapascan. — A woman puts on a bear-skin and becomes a bear (FARRAND, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 21).

A man puts on a cloak of marmot-skins and is transformed into a marmot (BOAS, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 464).

65. Big-Raven destroys the kamaks by placing them upon red-hot stones, and they turn to ashes (p. 235).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A monster is killed by red-hot stones (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 64).

Cannibals are thrown into a hole filled with red-hot stones, and their ashes are turned into mosquitoes (*Ibid.*, p. 165).

66. Big-Raven goes to gather wood, ties it in a bundle, and carries it home. When he reaches home, he notices that what he has carried is dried fish. Then he goes to fetch ice. He reaches the river, puts some ice into his bag, and goes home. When he comes home, he finds that the ice has turned into seal-blubber (p. 231).

Big-Raven loads his sledge full of thin slabs of ice, and drags it home. When he reaches his house, his sledge is full of the choicest whale-meat (p. 315).

Algonquin. — Pauppukkeewiss fills his sack with ice and snow, and he finds it filled with fish (SCHOOLCRAFT, p. 53).

67. The Fox and the Triton become pregnant from Eme'mqut's arrow, and they regard him as the father of their children (p. 214).

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut gives birth because she eats a piece of marrow into which Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta) has transformed himself, then she searches for the child's father among the Reindeer people until Earth-Maker appears (p. 299).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A girl who refuses her suitors becomes pregnant because the urine of Wolverene (who could not succeed in getting her) got into her mouth. Her parents discover the child's father (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 9).

A girl becomes pregnant because she swallows a piece of gum-resin which the hero has been chewing (*Ibid.*, p. 93).

Kwotiath turns into a leaf, which drops into a bucket of water. The chief's wife drinks of it, and becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 105).

Ha'daqa becomes pregnant because she swallows the leaf of a cedar (*Ibid.*, p. 184).

Raven turns into a fir-needle and drops into a well. The chief's daughter, Me'nis, swallows it and becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 208).

Mink gives a piece of gum-resin to a girl, and she becomes pregnant. The child recognizes its father (*Ibid.*, p. 108).

Gyī'l gives a girl a piece of gum-resin, and she becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 136).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Chief's daughter becomes pregnant because she swallows a cedar-leaf (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, pp. 12, 36).

Chief's daughter swallows a piece of gum-resin and becomes pregnant (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 274).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven turns into a pine-needle and falls into a lake (*Ibid.*, p. 312).

Coast of Washington. — Girl becomes pregnant by licking moisture, caused by a fog, from nose-ring (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 94).

A strong man spits into a girl's abdomen, and she becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 124).

A girl swallows the water which drips from her hair, and becomes pregnant (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 51).

68. Kīlu' kills kalau by breaking wind (p. 152).

Coast of Washington. — Badger kills various animals by means of his wind (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 19).

69. The kalau hunt men. The trail to their settlement is strewn with human bones and bodies (p. 129).

Coast of Washington. — Evening Star hunts and kills men. The trail to his settlement is strewn with human bones. His five sons come home throwing dead people down in front of the door (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 13).

70. Big-Raven moves with his family to the sky. They begin to ascend to the sky with a train of reindeer-sledges. Eme'mqut is sitting behind on the last sledge. When they are halfway up, he looks back, in spite of his father's order, and immediately he falls down (p. 280).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The chief of heaven carries a girl with her mother up to heaven, but is compelled to leave the mother behind, because, against his orders, she opens her eyes on the way (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 223).

71. Eme'mqut touches the privates of the Moon in token of a marriage-promise (p. 176).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A man falls into the den of Grisly-Bear and strikes her vulva. She feels ashamed, and says, "I will marry you" (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 203).

72. The skin of Big-Light, who is eaten by the kalau, is placed between two reindeer-skins, and, during an incantation, Big-Light comes to life again (p. 130).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The bones of one dead are placed between two mats. During the ceremony the bones are covered with flesh, and the dead comes to life again (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 214).

73. Eme'mqut cuts off the head of a man of a hostile Chukchee camp, sets it on a pole, and puts it in front of the house. Then a battle ensues between the Chukchee and Creator's people (p. 137).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Brothers cut off the head of their sister-in-law's lover, and hang it over the doorway. A battle ensues between the former and the relatives of the latter (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 221).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYY Korvak RYY

55 The same passage (Boas and Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, p. 45).
Similar episodes (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 162, 235, 282).

171 *Athapascan.* — A man cuts off the head of his wife's lover (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 45)

74. The Fox takes off her privates to dry (p. 182).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — In former times women could take off their privates (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 72).

Athapascan. — Raven persuades some women to take off their privates and hang them in trees, after which he has intercourse with then (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 19).

75. Creator eats excrement (p. 190).
Gull-Man says to Raven-Man, "You live on dog-meat and pick up excrement" (p. 199).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The raven Txä'msem eats the contents of the slave's stomach. The slave says, "He eats excrement" (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 41).

IV. — HABITATIONS.

The Reindeer as well as the Maritime Koryak call their dwellings yaya'ñı 342 or ḷı'ge-yan[1] ("genuine house"). The Maritime Koryak call the tents of the Reindeer Koryak ča'učewyan ("Reindeer people's house"), while the latter call 174 the dwellings of the Maritime Koryak wa'lxai ("jaw-bone [of a whale] house"). This name is of great interest. From it the conclusion may be drawn that in olden times the Maritime Koryak used for the construction of their underground houses bone of whale,[2] which is still used by the Eskimo.

Remains of underground dwellings the framework of which was of bone of whale were seen by Wrangell and Nordenskiöld along the shores of the Arctic. Mr. Bogoras saw ruins of such houses in the villages of the Maritime Chukchee and Asiatic Eskimo on Bering Sea. These houses are called by the natives wa'lkar, which also means "jaw-bone house."[3]

Reindeer Koryak. — The dwelling of the Reindeer Koryak consists of 342 an outside tent and an inner sleeping-tent. The frame of the outer tent is 171 built after the type of the movable dwellings of the nomad Mongol and Turkish tribes of Asia; such as the cattle-breeding Kirghiz and Kalmuk,[4] who cover the frame of their tent with a felt covering, and the reindeer-breeding Tungus,[5] who use birch-bark or reindeer-hide for the same purpose.

The characteristic feature of this type of dwelling is its construction in two parts; the lower part being cylindrical, and the upper part or roof conical, in shape. The Koryak reindeer-skin tent, however, is clumsier and heavier than the felt habitation (kibitka) of the Kirghiz, and the leather or birch-bark dwelling of the Tungus. The lower part of the outer tent of the Reindeer Koryak does not form as regular a circle as do the lower parts of the tents of the above-mentioned tribes. Still it is more symmetrical than that of the Reindeer Chukchee, which, on the whole, it resembles.[6]

The frame of the outer tent (yaya'ñı) of the Reindeer Koryak consists, 342 first of all, of three foundation-posts (Fig. 59), or ye'lxel, arranged in the form of a tripod, and tied together at the top by means of strong thongs.

---

[1] In the Chukchee language ḷı'ê-ran

[2] I found no ribs or jaw-bones of whales in the framework of the excavated ancient underground houses of the Koryak in Gishiga Bay, while bones of whales were scattered all round the pits of the old dwellings.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.

[4] For a detailed description of the dwellings of the Turkish and Mongol tribes see the interesting paper of N. Charusin, The History of the Development of the Dwellings of the Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Turkish and Mongol Tribes of Russia (Ethnographic Survey, Journal of the Ethnographic Section of the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography [Moscow, 1896], Vol. XXVIII, No. 1).

[5] A detailed description of the different types of Tungus habitations will be given in my work on the Yukaghir.

[6] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 169.

342 The cover consists of reindeer-skins sewed together, with the hair side out (Plate XIX, Fig. 1). Worn-out skins which have previously served for the inner tent are used for making this cover. In order to lessen its weight when moving from place to place, the hair is clipped close with a sharp knife. It is made in two or more pieces. The upper part of the cover, where the smoke accumulates, is made of much-worn skins sewed together. The lower parts, consisting usually of two pieces, are attached to it. The ends of the cover overlap on the entrance side of the tent. Inside, the parts of the cover are fastened firmly together and to the stakes and poles with thongs. The lower ends of the cover are tucked under, and weighted down inside the tent with stones and heavy bags filled with clothes, or with loaded sledges. Outside, around the cylindrical and conical parts, as well as up and down, the cover is fastened with thongs the ends of which are attached to loaded sledges surrounding the tent and to stakes driven into the ground or the snow. Water is poured over the snow around these stakes, which freezes and thus makes the snow a solid, resisting mass of ice. Light driving-sledges, when not in use, are tied to the roof of the house, thus fastening the cover to the frame.

342
513
171
The Koryak outer tents are usually more spacious than those of the Chukchee. Several Koryak families live in one tent. The sleeping-tents are placed all around the inner space of the tent, with the exception of the entrance side.

The Chukchee have usually only one sleeping-tent, near the wall opposite the entrance, for unrelated families do not live in the same tent. For this reason the sides of the tent are drawn closer together. The front part with the entrance looks as though it were truncated; and the back part, which contains the inner tent, is extended backward. The diameter of a large Koryak tent is from eight to nine metres. The middle space is so taken up with poles and stakes that it reminds one of the scaffolding of a building in course of construction. The hearth is not placed in the centre of the tent, as with the Tungus, but is on the middle of a line drawn from the front wall of the sleeping-tent in the rear to the entrance. The opening for the smoke (see Plate XIX, Fig. 1) is therefore rather in the direction of the slope of the roof on the side of the entrance. The back part is covered to the tops of the poles.

While, in other Asiatic movable tents of the type here described, the inner tent serves as a bedroom only, among the Koryak and Chukchee it serves as a living-room also, particularly in winter. The inner tent (yoyo′ñı) is in the form of a rectangular box placed upside down. It is made of the dressed hairy skin of full-grown reindeer killed in the fall, with the hair side in, and is sewed with sinew-thread (see Fig. 59).

I did not see among the Reindeer Koryak such spacious inner tents as

342 I saw among the rich Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma River, in which it was
513 possible to stand up comfortably. The height of the Koryak inner tent varies from 1.3 to 1.5 metres; its length, from 2 to 4 metres; and its width, from
171 1.3 to 2 metres. To the upper edges of the longer walls, thongs are fastened, by means of which the rear part of the tent is attached to the cross-bar of the frame of the outer tent. The front part, facing the hearth, is tied to a stake (Fig. 59) resting on the cross-bars attached to the frame of the tent.

The floor of the sleeping-room is strewn with willow-branches covered with reindeer-skins. The lower parts of the cover on the rear and side walls of the inner tent are tucked inside, and the bedding is placed upon them; while the cover of the front wall is tucked under only when the inmates go to bed.[1] I shall dwell here only on the difference between the Koryak and the Chukchee in the use of the inner tent.

356 The Koryak seldom break up their inner tent in order to beat it on the snow and dry it. They dry it during the day by lifting up the front part of the cover. Thus the dampness collected from the exhalations of the sleepers during the night, and lodged in the hair of the skins, and the vapors rising from the tea and warm food, mixed with dirt and fat, are only partially dissipated during the day. For this reason the inner tents of the Koryak are dirtier than are those of the Chukchee.

512 In the evening the inner tent is closed, the lamp is lighted, and the family drink tea and take supper. At this time the skin dwelling gets heated
342 to such a degree that the men strip off their coats and remain half naked.[2] During the night the fur sleeping-tent gets cooled off, so that the temperature inside is but three or four degrees higher than that prevailing outside.

342 A Koryak tent seldom has less than three or four inner sleeping-tents. The master, the families of his relatives and of his herdsmen, live in the
571 same tent; and often members of the same tribe, not related, but wandering together, live in one tent.

During the fair on the Palpal (see Plate XIX, Fig. 2) the Reindeer Koryak put up one common tent with two hearths placed like the foci of an ellipse, and with a passageway, on the two sides of which were sixteen inner tents (eight on each side). Over a hundred persons occupied this tent, the longer diameter of which exceeded twenty metres in length. Kennan[3] mentions a large tent of Reindeer Koryak in northern Kamchatka in which he counted twenty-six inner tents. I had no chance to see tents accommodating so many, except the one at the fair. The large tent of the Taigonos elder (see Plate XIX,

---

[1] For a detailed description of this dwelling, see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 169.

[2] It is curious to note, that, while the Chukchee women take off their clothing down to the waist-line, even in the presence of strangers, the Koryak women are too modest to do so in the presence of company.

[3] See Kennan, p. 197.

Near the four main central posts (*P'*) stakes of the height of a man are driven into the ground. On their upper ends, which are fastened with thongs to the main posts, cross-pieces are put, upon which clothes, shoes, and other household goods are hung. There is no such cross-piece on the side where the hearth is; but above the hearth, across the entire width of the house, several stout timbers are placed, their ends being tied with thongs to the upper cross-beams. These form a grating, upon which clothes, shoes, and wood are put to dry. To these poles, hooks of wood, iron, or reindeer-antler, are attached, from which pots and kettles are suspended over the fire (see Fig. 61 and Plate xx). 342 352

The corners of the house, the spaces between the sleeping-places, and the place for visitors, are ordinarily used for storage purposes. Nets, dogs' harness, hunting-implements, snowshoes, tools, and other things, are hung up there. A large iron pot for water, dishes, tea-kettles, wooden and leather pails, and chamber-vessels (see Plate xx) are kept on the side of the door leading to the entrance-room. [415]

If, as appears to me, the tent of the Reindeer Koryak is built after the type of the dwelling of the Asiatic nomads, but adapted to the needs of the arctic climate, so the underground house of the Maritime Koryak represents a type of palæ-Asiatic-American dwelling. We do not find such a dwelling among the Turkish-Mongolian tribes. All so-called palæ-Asiatic tribes formerly had, or now have, underground houses similar to the house of the Koryak type. The ancient Kamchadal dwelling as described by Steller[1] differed from the present-day house of the Maritime Koryak only by the absence of the umbrella-shaped storm-roof, by having no entrance-room, and by having notches instead of holes in its ladder. 342 171

The Kerek do not build storm-roofs, because of their lack of the required timber.[2] I also found on the Tılqai River[3] one Koryak house without a funnel. It stood in a forest where the winds were not so violent. According to the Koryak belief, the houses of evil spirits (kalau) have no storm-roofs. We may rightly suppose that this peculiar part of the construction, which we find only among the Koryak, is not characteristic of the general type of this dwelling.

The dwelling of the Kamchadal has no entrance-room, for the underground house serves them as a winter dwelling only; but among the Koryak the entrance through the ante-room is also closed up for the winter. In the Kamchadal dwelling, an underground passage leading out from the hearth[4] takes the place of the ante-room of the Koryak. Women, children, and men transformed[5] into women, used to go in and out through this passage. It

---

[1] Steller, p. 212.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, p. 183.

[3] See p. 437.

[4] See the cut in Steller, p. 212; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 40.

[5] See Part 1, p. 52.

3412 171 served as a storehouse; and it had a grass plug, which was taken out while the fire was burning, to secure a draught. In summer the Kamchadal used to live in conical huts placed upon platforms raised on tall posts. As we shall see below, the Koryak also put up such structures on piles for their storehouses.

Sternberg states that the Gilyak adopted the Manchurian type of winter house, which is above ground, only in places near the Amur River.[1] In other places they preserved their semi-subterranean dwelling of the Koryak type. Schrenck gives a detailed description and a cut of that dwelling.[2] The smoke-hole on the roof of the Gilyak house does not serve at present as an entrance, and they have no ladder; but Sternberg surmises that in former times the smoke-hole in the roof also served as an entrance, as with the Kamchadal and Koryak. Even now this opening is used as a door on certain occasions. At the bear festival the Gilyak descend into the house, carrying the skin and flesh of the killed bear, by means of a pole inserted for the purpose through the smoke-hole. At the close of the festival all the ritual accessories, as well as the bones of the bear, are removed from the house through the same smoke-hole.[3] Now the Gilyak enter the house through a narrow passage which slopes down to the door, similar to the Koryak entrance-room. The door faces the side most protected from the prevailing winds. The floor of the house is lower than that of the passage. The hearth is placed in the middle of the house, under the opening in the roof.

The underground house was in common use among the Ainu people as well. We find in Schrenck[4] the description of a modern underground dwelling of the Ainu in the southern part of Saghalin Island. It is entered through a side-door. The roof extends far enough over the entrance to form in front of it a covered landing-place or ante-room, with steps leading inside. The hearth is nearer the door; but in dwellings of smaller size it is also placed in the middle. Large houses possess two hearths at the corners, on the side of the door, with an opening in the roof over each hearth for the exit of the smoke. Not infrequently a channel runs from the hearth itself to the passage, for increasing the draught of the fire. Grimm[5] describes a modern Ainu dwelling on the island of Shikotan. The hearth is in the right-hand corner of the earth hut on the side of the door, while the above-ground summer hut forms a passage to the winter pit-dwelling.

The important questions relating to the remains of ancient subterranean

---

[1] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Survey [Moscow, 1904], No. 1, p. 18).

[2] See cut in Schrenck, II, p. 12.

[3] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Survey [Moscow, 1904], No. 1, p. 6).

[4] Schrenck, II, p. 23.

[5] H. Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Koropokguru von Yezo und Bemerkungen über Shikotan Aino (Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, [1889-92, Band V, pp. 369—373).

dwellings found on the islands of Yezo and Saghalin will be discussed in 342
Chapter X, in the section on ancient pottery of the Koryak. 171

I stated before that Koryak underground houses no longer exist in Gishiga Bay; but remains of such ancient dwellings may be seen on the shores and islands of Gishiga Bay and the Okhotsk Sea as far as the village of Yamsk, and possibly still farther south.

A link between these remains and those of former Gilyak-Ainu earth dwellings and their present underground houses seems to be found in the ruins of such dwellings on the banks of the lower course of the Amur River and at its mouth,[1] which may also be ascribed to the ancient Gilyak.

Returning to the Arctic palæ-Asiatics, we find that the ancient Yukaghir had underground houses.[2] We shall discuss these dwellings in greater detail in the work devoted to the Yukaghir.

The Chukchee, even the Maritime branch of the tribe, now make their houses of reindeer-skins;[3] but along the Arctic shore, from Cape Erri (or Shelagski) to Bering Strait,[4] and along the Chukchee shore of Bering Sea, south of East Cape (or Chukotsky),[5] remains of underground dwellings are found. The frames of these houses were mainly of bone of whale, because timber was not available.

Wrangell, having heard from the Chukchee that these dwellings formerly 342
belonged to the Onkilon, assumed that they were left by the Eskimo who 114
had lived on the Asiatic shore of the Arctic, but who subsequently wandered off to America. It has been shown before (p. 407) that Onkilon is a wrongly recorded Chukchee-Koryak word, Añqala'n ("maritime dweller"). Even now the Koryak and the Chukchee apply this name to every maritime inhabitant. This name, however, does not throw any light on the tribal relationship of the dwellers.

From the resemblance between the remains of subterranean dwellings on the Asiatic shores of the Polar Sea and those found on the islands and the northern shores of America, Markham[6] has formed the theory that the Eskimo emigrated into Greenland from Asia, the groundlessness of which theory has been proved by Professor Boas.[7]

Schrenck[8] has suggested that the remains of underground houses along

---

[1] For the pits of ancient dwellings on the Amur River see B. Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sachalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, Vol. V, pp. 321—330).

[2] See Hedenstrom in the Siberian Messenger, p. 105, and in Fragments about Siberia, p. 97; Wrangell, I, p. 7, II, p. 57; Müller, Sammlung, Russ. Gesch., III, p. 46; Pallas, Neue Nord. Beitr., I, pp. 234, 235.

[3] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 178.

[4] Wrangell, II, pp. 220, 221; Nordenskiöld, I, pp. 403–406, 456.

[5] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII. of this series, p. 180.

[6] R. Markham, On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux (The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society [London, 1865], Vol. XXXV, p. 87).

[7] See Boas, Ueber die ehemalige Verbreitung der Eskimos im arktisch-amerikanischen Archipel (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1883, Vol. XVIII, p. 118).

[8] Schrenck, II, p. 28.

342 114 the shores of the Arctic Ocean were the ancient dwellings of the ancestors of the present Chukchee, in which they lived before they adopted the tent made of skins. On the shore of the Chukchee Peninsula in Bering Sea, Mr. Bogoras[1] saw remains of underground dwellings in the settlements of the Maritime Chukchee, as well as in those of the Asiatic Eskimo.

342 171 According to the description of Mr. Bogoras,[2] this underground dwelling, called by the Chukchee "jaw-bone house" (wa'lkar), had also two entrances; but, contrary to the Koryak underground house, the upper entrance at the upper part of the wall was used in summer, and in winter a long and narrow underground passage which in summer was filled up with water. The level of the floor of the inner room was above that of the underground passage, so that the water could not injure the living-room.

In houses of the Koryak, Kamchadal, Gilyak, and Ainu, on the other hand, the floor of the inner room, as mentioned before, is lower than that of the ante-room or the draught-passage. The underground houses of the Kamchadal were full of water in summer; and this explains, according to Steller and Krasheninnikoff,[3] why they lived in summer in houses built on piles. Like the Eskimo snow-house, the "jaw-bone house" of the Chukchee was heated and lighted by means of an oil-lamp. The opening in the roof, which was covered with the shoulder-blade of a whale, served only to admit light.

Turning to the American side, we see from the descriptions of Russian and other travellers, such as Sarytcheff,[4] Sauer,[5] Langsdorff,[6] and Veniaminov,[7] that an underground house similar to that of the Kamchadal served as the ancient dwelling of the Aleut. The frame was built of driftwood or whale-ribs. The opening in the roof served as smoke-hole, window, and entrance to the house, which was heated by a hearth fire, and the people descended to it by means of a notched log. Outside of the main living-room, or the middle of the house, were other smaller side-rooms with narrow passages leading outside, the latter being very much like the Kamchadal draught-channel.

From the Kadyak Islands along the American shores of Bering Sea and the Polar Ocean, as far as Greenland, we meet with remains of underground dwellings. The type of these dwellings shows some variations.

To judge from the descriptions of former travellers, underground houses of the Aleut type were met among the Eskimo in the southern part of Alaska; with this difference, however, that along with smaller underground dwellings, subterranean public houses (kashim) were found, which were designed for festivals, entertainments, or steam-baths. In some places remains of similar underground houses of the Gilyak type were found.

---

[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.

[2] Ibid., pp. 181, 182.

[3] Steller, p. 212; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 40.

[4] Sarytcheff, Travels in the Northeastern Part of Siberia, St. Petersburg (Russian edition), II, pp. 14, 157.

[5] Billing's Reise (Berlin, 1802), p. 294.

[6] Langsdorff, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803–07 (Frankfurt a. M.), II, pp. 30, 36.

[7] Veniaminov, Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District (Russian edition), II, pp. 204–211.

On Bering Strait the Eskimo were found to possess underground houses[1] of the wa'lkar type of the Chukchee Peninsula, described above. On the shores of the Arctic Ocean we find again small earth huts of the Kamchadal type, with entrance through the smoke-hole, but with a frame made of the bones of whales. Farther east we find stones also used as building-material for the walls of the earth hut, with a roof made of bone of whale. The stone walls frequently penetrate but very slightly into the ground, or are erected on the surface of the soil, being fenced up with an earth rampart.[2]

On the shores of the Arctic Ocean the subterranean winter houses have been almost superseded by snow dwellings.

Remains of underground houses, or tales about them, have been found among many Indian tribes of northwestern America, and among some of them underground dwellings are found even now.

One tale of the Bella Coola, a coast tribe of British Columbia which belongs to the Salish stock, points to their former possession of subterranean dwellings.[3] We also find a reference to the underground house, exit from which is made through the smoke-hole, in one myth of another tribe of the Salish stock, the Quinault Indians, who dwell on the coast of Washington.[4]

Among the Ts'ᴇts'ā'ut, an Athapascan coast tribe, the house is made of bark, and, though constructed above ground, it is arranged for the winter to live in as in a Koryak underground house. When snow falls very deep, the door is blocked up, and the exit is effected through the roof.[5]

The custom of building underground or semi-subterranean houses prevailed in former times, or is still observed among the inland tribes of the Salish stock. All such houses were or are still used as dwellings only during the winter.[6] The smoke-hole in the middle of the roof is used as an entrance, through which one descends into the house by a notched log. As with the Koryak and Kamchadal, the hearth is on the floor at the bottom of the ladder. The roof is constructed of poles or timber. Most of these dwellings are circular in shape, though some are square.[7] The pit is dug out from four to five metres in diameter, and a metre and a half deep. The roof is covered with grass, and the whole is covered up with earth, so that from a distance the underground house looks like a mound. These underground dwell-

---

[1] See Murdoch, p. 72; Nelson, p. 242.

[2] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 539; Turner, p. 228.

[3] See Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 79.

[4] See Farrand, Quinault Indians, p. 94.

[5] See Tenth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, p. 561).

[6] See Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, pp. 633, 635).

[7] Teit, The Lillooet Indians (Vol. II of this series, p. 212).

342 171 ings have no side-entrance, entrance-room, underground passage, or draught-channel, like the underground houses of the palæ-Asiatics, Aleut, and Eskimo.

Until quite recently underground winter dwellings were found among the Shuswap,[1] the Thompson River Indians,[2] the Lillooet,[3] on the lower course of the Fraser River.[4] Remains of ancient underground houses have been found among the Chilcotin,[5] in the Thompson River region,[6] at Nicola Lake (Athapascan), and in other places in the interior of British Columbia.

Farther to the south we find underground houses of the Salish type among the Indians on the Klamath Lakes, Oregon, and in northern California among the Hupa[7] and Maidu.[8] It is interesting to note that the Indian coast tribes, like the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, whose myths bear the greatest resemblance to those of the inhabitants of the underground houses on the Asiatic side of the Pacific, now live in large wooden houses. The house, however, has a smoke-hole similar to that of the underground house; and in olden times the centre of the house was excavated.[9]

From this short review of different types of underground or semi-subterranean dwellings on both sides of the North Pacific, we may draw the conclusion that the underground houses of the palæ-Asiatic tribes bear more similarity to those of the Aleut and Alaskan Eskimo than to the underground dwellings of the Northwestern Indians.

It is difficult to admit the theory of independent invention for the construction of the underground house over this whole area. It seems to me that imitation played its part here, while the climatic conditions contributed to the spread of underground dwellings.

342 The Koryak underground house serves for a winter as well as for a summer dwelling. As I said above, there are settlements in which people live only during winter, and others which are inhabited only in summer. The houses of the summer and winter settlements are built alike. The use of a dwelling for summer or for winter depends upon its being near the seashore or up the river. The houses occupied only during summer are called ale′-yan ("summer house"), and winter dwellings are called la′xlañ-yan ("winter house").

343 The Maritime Koryak build their storehouses on platforms raised on poles from four to six metres above the ground, so that dogs, bears, or other beasts shall not steal their provisions. To build a storehouse (Plate XXI,

---

[1] See Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, etc., p. 635.
[2] Teit, Vol. I of this series, p. 193 and Figs. 135, 136.
[3] Teit, The Lillooet Indians, p. 212.
[4] Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 633.
[5] Twelfth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 646.
[6] Smith, Vol. I of this series, pp. 140, 414.
[7] See description by Schurz, Urgeschichte der Kultur, 1900, pp 422 - 423.
[8] Dixon, The Northern Maidu (Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVII, pp. 168 et seq.)
[9] Boas, Tribes of the North Pacific Coast (Annual Archæological Report, 1905, Toronto, p. 236).

the Yerchen, a tributary of the Indighirka River. It may be observed, in 174
this connection, that the sledge of the tundra Yukaghir belongs to the 233
Koryak-Chukchee type, and not to the Tungus-Yakut type.

Degree of Domestication. — Next to the Chukchee reindeer, the 233
Koryak reindeer are the wildest, and, but for their gregariousness, it would
be difficult to manage them. The number of driving and draught reindeer 171
in each Koryak herd is very small, seldom exceeding that necessary for moving the family. The driving and draught reindeer are more accustomed to man and his habitation, but, after spending a summer with the herd without being used, they return again to their native state. The Koryak reindeer is mainly part of the herd, and feels but little its connection with man and his habitation. Human urine is an essential attraction for the reindeer in a nomad camp in winter.

The Koryak very seldom travel alone or with light supplies; that is, without family, baggage-train, tent, and herd. When stopping over night, the driving and draught reindeer are allowed to join the herd; and in the morning, before starting out for the journey, they are caught by means of a lasso. Whenever I happened to travel by reindeer-sledge without the herd, family, and baggage-train of the drivers, nearly half a day would be spent in trying to catch the reindeer. In spite of the fact that the wilder among the driving-reindeer had yokes suspended from their necks, which dragged before their front-feet and interfered with their running, they managed to get away many miles from the camping-place during the night.

The heavy Koryak tent is less adapted for frequent migrations than that of the Tungus. The herd, after eating all the moss around the tent on a new place, wanders farther and farther away from it. The Tungus are more mobile than the Koryak, and, as soon as the lichen around the camp is eaten, they move to another lichen-covered place. The reindeer must always be near the habitation. Moreover, two or three times during the day, the Tungus herdsmen round up the herd, bringing it close to the tents, so that the reindeer may remain accustomed to people and their habitations. No matter how large a Tungus herd may be, its owners try to ride as large a proportion of the animals as possible. Even the females are laden with packs during migrations, or are made to carry the children and the young. Thus the greater part of the herd is used to the saddle. The smaller a Tungus herd is, the tamer; because in that case all the reindeer are trained to ride, and are more accustomed to man. On the contrary, the Koryak manage a large herd more easily. For that reason the owners of small numbers of reindeer combine their herds into one large one.

When I crossed the Stanovoi Mountains, on my way from Gishiga to the Kolyma River, I had with me in the early part of my journey two Tungus herdsmen with ten pack-reindeer and a few reindeer for slaughter

233 for food.[1] When halting for the night, we took the reindeer to a lichen-covered place, where we left them, and in the morning the herdsmen would
171 bring the reindeer to the camp before our Yakut drivers had had time to find their horses.[2] But, whenever I had occasion to drive Koryak or Chukchee reindeer, the capture of them around the camp consumed so much time that usually we were not able to start on our journey until several hours after rising.

At the appearance of wolves, the Tungus reindeer run straight to camp, as if to seek the protection of man. In a Tungus camp in the Indighirka tundra, I once had occasion at night to observe the reindeer, pursued by wolves, come running into camp with their tongues out, and fall exhausted at the tents. The men ran out with fire-brands in their hands, and the women with frying-pans and copper kettles, beating them with anything they could get hold of, so as to frighten away the wolves with the glare of the fire and the noise of the metallic utensils.

The Yakut have a general reputation as cattle-breeders, and, in comparison with the Koryak reindeer, their reindeer are more tame. An insignificant part of this tribe[3] migrated quite recently, at the time of the invasion of the Yakut territory by the Russians, to the polar region of the Verkhoyansk and Kolyma districts. No doubt, the climatic conditions of the Far North have had a retrogressive effect on the civilization of the Yakut. Where cattle-breeding proved impossible or unprofitable, they turned into fish-eating dog-breeders or reindeer-breeders; but at the same time they tried to adapt their new, more primitive life to the habits of the higher culture which they had acquired under a settled mode of life. Thus the Yakut tried to make their reindeer as tame as possible. I had opportunity to observe Yakut reindeer-breeding all over the north between the Kolyma and Lena Rivers, and was surprised to find how much more gentle, in most cases, were their reindeer than were those of the Tungus. The Yakut have even tried to carry the domestication of their reindeer to the point of teaching them to eat hay; but these attempts have failed. They have not hit upon the idea of laying in a supply of lichen,[4] probably because that would involve too much labor, and would be impracticable with a large number of reindeer.

In summer, when the reindeer live on fresh grass and leaves, many Yakut keep them near the house, instead of driving them off to the mountains, as a protection from the mosquitoes, as is done by the Koryak and the Tungus, or to the arctic shores, as is the custom of the Chukchee. In the Indighirka tundra I had opportunity to observe how the Yakut reindeer crowded, in summer, about the blinding smoke of the smoke-pits near the houses. To prevent the reindeer from getting burned, or from stepping on the hot cinders, the smoke-pits[1] are fenced in with poles, the tops of which are tied together in a manner that resembles the conical frame of a tent. The Kolyma-Chukchee, in imitation of the Yakut, have tried to introduce smoke-pits; but their wilder reindeer burned their feet, and injured their hoofs, in the fire.

---

[1] I engaged the Tungus with the reindeer to accompany my caravan for a few days. In order to relieve my pack-horses, they carried part of the provisions, as long as any remained.

[2] As a rule, we stopped for the night in river-valleys, along the banks of which we found grazing for the horses; while the reindeer would be taken by the Tungus to the summits of the mountains.

[3] Of the two hundred and fifty thousand Yakut, only twelve thousand live at present in Verkhoyansk and Kolyma, the northern districts of the Yakut Province. Of these twelve thousand, not more than a fifth have reindeer.

[4] Schrenck once met on Saghalin a reindeer caravan of Orok who had two sledges loaded with lichen, to be used as fodder (see Schrenck, II, p. 180).

The Yakut dogs do not guard the reindeer, as is the case among the Lapps; but the two kinds of animals get along very well with each other. The dogs become accustomed to the reindeer while young, and the latter are not afraid of them. When the pups begin to bark at a reindeer or to chase it, they are trained, by beating, to distinguish the domesticated animal from the wild one. When a dog is particularly obstinate, one of its legs is caught in the collar, so that the dog has to jump on three legs, and cannot run.

In the Yakut settlements along the lower courses of the Indighirka, Yana, and Lena Rivers, even the draught-dogs are not so hostile to the domesticated reindeer as are the Kolyma and Gishiga dogs. When a nomad Koryak pays a visit to one of those settlements, he usually leaves his reindeer behind, at a certain distance from the village, to which he comes on foot. Only when all dogs in the settlement are tied, will the Koryak venture to enter with his reindeer. In the above-mentioned Yakut settlements, it is a common thing to see people ride up to the houses on reindeer, and only exceptionally ferocious dogs are kept on the chain. According to Yakut custom, the owners of the dogs are responsible for the reindeer injured by them. From my own experience, I know that draught-dogs can be taught by proper training to behave peacefully in the presence of domesticated reindeer.

Along the lower course of the Lena River I also saw reindeer spending their summer in Yakut settlements. To protect them from mosquitoes, long sheds were built in the form of corridors, with entrances on either side, by which the reindeer escaped from mosquitoes and from the heat. Before each of the entrances, smoke-pits, fenced in by poles, emitted smoke. The reindeer were generally put out to pasture at night, when the temperature fell considerably and the mosquitoes hid from the cold in the grass. The mosquitoes disappear at noonday also, when their thin wings are so dried up by the rays of the sun that they easily break. During that part of the day the reindeer also seek shelter from the heat in the shade of the shed. The mosquitoes are especially fierce in the morning and at dusk. Then the rein-

---

[1] In making a smoke-pit, the Yakut build a fire in the pit, and cover it up with refuse, dung, turf, grass, or leaves, so as to allow the fire to smoulder only, and thus produce a smudge.

233 deer crowd about the smoke-pits, or stay in the shed. In one household I
171 saw a shed built to accommodate two hundred reindeer. These reindeer were so tame that they would upset my photographic apparatus, and had to be kept at a distance to enable me to photograph them. The Koryak reindeer could not be approached near enough with the apparatus to be photographed, but would scatter in all directions, in spite of the fact that the herdsmen tried to keep them in place.

Not far from Shigansk, on the Lena River, where immense larch-forests cover large areas, I met among the Yakut another type of reindeer-management. These Yakut leave their reindeer in the woods, free from any supervision, during the summer, while they themselves engage in fishing along the islands and on the Lena. In the fall, on the appearance of snow, the reindeer are rounded up. They do not stray far away from the winter dwellings, and it
[136] never happens that they get lost during the summer. There are no wolves in the depths of the forests, as in winter they avoid the deep, soft snows of dense woods. The polar wolf lives and propagates mainly on the tundra, amidst the shrubbery, on the outskirts of forests. There he finds in abundance wild reindeer, hares, and, in case of extreme necessity, lemmings. The dense woods of northern Siberia surprise the traveller by the scarcity of animal life and by their deadly stillness.

Reindeer spending their summer in the woods try to protect themselves from mosquitoes by running back and forth on the outskirts of the forest, thus forming a wide beaten path, or by getting into the water of rivers or lakes. On cloudy days, when the mosquitoes are numerous, the reindeer will spend the entire day in the water up to their necks, and will venture into the pastures only at night to satisfy their hunger and to rest on the grass. In winter the Yakut settlers do not manage so easily with their reindeer. Owing to the lack of food-supplies, they cannot keep them in their winter settlements. During summer, whenever there are Tungus in the vicinity, the Yakut, as a rule, keep their reindeer in a Tungus herd; or a few households get together, and the owners take turns in pasturing them.

On the lower course of the Yana, Omoloi, and Lena Rivers, I saw still another form of reindeer-management. In summer the Yakut reindeer are taken to the mountains by the Tungus or Yukaghir, while the Yakut owners remain on the river, fishing. In winter the herdsmen return to the Yakut houses, and the Yakut divide their supplies of fish with them. The wealthy Yakut, who own large herds of thousands of head, always keep hired Tungus or Yukaghir herdsmen. Of late years, good reindeer herdsmen are developing among the Yakut themselves.

Since the care and the use of a Koryak herd are almost the same as those of a Chukchee herd, I shall not attempt to describe at length the manner of driving, the harness, the sledges, the life of the herdsmen, and the diseases of the reindeer. All that has been described in detail by Mr. Bogoras.[1] I shall confine myself, therefore, to giving some additional information and to indicating some points of difference. 171 233

Food of Reindeer. — In summer, as is well known, the reindeer like fresh grass, especially the young sprouts of reed-grass, the leaves of the birch, willow, and poplar, as well as mushrooms. In winter they feed exclusively on lichens;[2] but wherever the horse-tail (*Equisetum scirpoides* Mich.[3]) is to be found, they readily eat it in the winter as well, and frequently prefer it to lichens. But this low-growing weed is found only in certain localities, — in the sandy valleys of mountain-streams, where, in some places, it thickly covers large areas. In spite of the fact that in winter it is covered up with snow, the reindeer discover it by their sense of smell, as they do the lichen. More than once in the winter, I had an opportunity to see, in the mountain-valleys between the Indighirka and Yana Rivers, how ravenously the reindeer devoured that plant. The Tungus told me that they fatten on it, the same as do horses. It retains its juice throughout the winter, and does not dry up like grasses. During the winter the reindeer in the woods also eat lichens growing on trunks of trees. 233 [137]

When the reindeer feed exclusively on lichens, they acquire a special longing for the urine of human beings. This longing attracts them to human habitations. Fig. 63 represents a vessel (qoya′-oča′-lñın, which signifies "the "reindeer's night-chamber") made of seal-skin, which every herdsman carries suspended from his belt, and of which he makes use whenever he desires to urinate, that he may keep the urine as a means of attraction in capturing refractory reindeer. Quite frequently the reindeer come running to camp from a far-off pasture to taste of snow saturated with urine, a delicacy to them. The reindeer have a keen sense of hearing and of smell, but their sight is rather poor. A man stopping to urinate in the open attracts reindeer from afar, which, following the sense of smell, will run to the urine, hardly discerning the man, and paying no attention to him. The position of a man standing up in the open while urinating is rather critical when he becomes the object of attention from reindeer coming down on him from all sides at full speed. 233 514 [415]

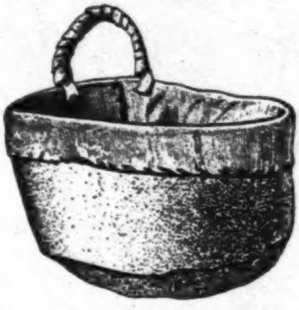


Fig. 63 ($\frac{70}{3171}$). Vessel made of Seal-Skin. Length, 15 cm.

While subsisting exclusively on lichens, the reindeer develop also a liking for animal food. This peculiarity has been noticed by many travellers. It 233

---

[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, pp. 80—95.

[2] See p. 386.

[3] See p. 399.

493 The racing-sledge is so small and light that it can be lifted with one finger.

171 While the question as to the origin of reindeer-breeding among the Koryak and the Chukchee must for the present remain open, there is no doubt in my mind that the type of the Koryak-Chukchee sledge — with arches instead of pairs of stanchions, and with runners the fore-ends of which are curved upward and joined to the upper rails[1] — is of local origin. Nowhere is this type of sledge to be found, except among the Reindeer Yukaghir (the nearest neighbors of the Chukchee and the Koryak) and among the Yukaghirized tundra Tungus, between the Kolyma and Yana Rivers. The Yukaghir driving-sledges are not as carefully finished as those of the Chukchee and Koryak, and are somewhat higher than those of the latter; but this does not prevent the Yukaghir from riding astride the sledge, like the Chukchee and the Koryak.

The sledge which was described by Bogoras under the name of Tungus sledge,[2] I should rather call Yakut. I believe that the northern Tungus riders who have recently begun to use sledges adopted this type of sledge from the Yakut. This sledge is a combination of the ox-sledge of the southern Yakut and the northern dog-sledge. By its lesser length and greater width as compared with a dog-sledge, it resembles a Yakut ox-sledge; but in its stanchions, the thonged grating around the sledge, and the horizontal arch attached to the front parts of the runners, it resembles the dog-sledges. The northern Yakut also use these sledges in driving passengers with horses, or in drawing loads. The driver usually sits astride the horse, and from each side of the saddle a line runs to the front of the sledge.

492 171 Mr. Bogoras has pointed out the difference between the reindeer-harness of the Chukchee and the Koryak on the one hand, and that of the Yakut and the Tungus on the other. I wish to call attention here to the advantages of the harness of the latter. The Yakut always use two reindeer to a sledge, and therefore we must take for comparison the Koryak racing and driving sledges, which likewise are drawn by two reindeer. In the case of the Koryak sledges, both the reindeer to the right and the one to the left pull with the left shoulder, and the collar is slipped over each reindeer so as to take in its right fore-leg. The line running from the collar of each reindeer to the sledge, commencing at the right fore-leg, passes on the side of the reindeer by the right hind-leg, which remains on the left of the line. In the case of the Yakut, the reindeer to the right pulls with the right shoulder, — that is, the collar takes in its left fore-leg, — while the reindeer to the left draws like the Koryak reindeer. The angles of both collars are thus between the two reindeer, — on the right side of the left reindeer and on the left

---

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 17 p. 90; and Plate XXIV, and Plate XXXIX, Fig. 2, of this volume.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 4, p. 70.

side of the right reindeer respectively. These angles are joined, by means of a wooden or bone clasp, to the ends of a leather line which passes loosely through the front arch of the sledge. The Koryak and the Chukchee use a separate line for each reindeer, both of which pass from their collars to the sledge, and are firmly attached to the sledge-front. The Yakut harness offers the following advantages: —

It compels both reindeer to pull alike. If one of them pulls with greater strength, it will pull forward its end of the traces, and shorten the line of the other reindeer, whose hind-legs will then be struck by the arch of the sledge. This forces the lazy reindeer to make an effort and pull at its end of the traces equally with its mate. This kind of harness requires the reindeer of each team to be of equal strength. If the driver should not pay attention to this, the weaker reindeer would succumb. The stronger reindeer pulls out its arm of the traces; but the weaker one, unable to cope with the former, becomes still weaker the farther they proceed, until finally it drops from exhaustion. This happens quite frequently with inexperienced drivers.

When a train of freight-sledges using Yakut harnesses comes down a mountain-slope, the reindeer can swerve to both sides, — the right reindeer to the right, and the left one to the left, — and the sledges will come down by their own weight without striking the reindeer's legs. This is very important in using teams of two reindeer. In coming down a mountain-slope, the horizontal arch of the rear freight-sledge of the Yakut strikes the back of the front sledge with great force, and would crush the legs of the reindeer if they were unable to swerve to different sides. The Yakut reindeer of each succeeding sledge are tied separately, with a line about a metre long, to the rear end of the preceding sledge. The line passes from the halter. In the case of the Koryak, the freight-sledge is drawn by one reindeer, which can swerve to the left when going downhill.

The reindeer do not have to pull all the time with the same shoulder. As the Yakut always use two reindeer to a freight-sledge, the drivers frequently change the reindeer from right to left, and *vice versâ*.

In the manner of guiding the movement of the reindeer, the Koryak-Chukchee and the Yakut do not differ greatly. The reindeer is not directed with the bridle. In the team-harness of the Yakut there is only one rein, which is attached to the halter of the reindeer on the right side. The Koryak employ two reins in their team-harness, — one for each reindeer. The reins end in knotted loops, which are slipped on the left hand of the driver. To make the reindeer go to the right, it is necessary to pull the reins. However, it is principally the reindeer to the right that learns to change the direction and to pull his mate along. The halters of both reindeer are connected by a line about half a metre long. To make the reindeer turn to the left, the driver thrusts forward, along the side of the right reindeer

492 a thin pliable rod of willow, which takes the place of a whip. The right reindeer then, as though trying to avoid the blow, pushes the left reindeer to the left. The rod thus used as a whip has a length of from 120 cm. to 130 cm. (Fig. 64). It has a head of antler at the grip end, and a pointed
• 171 ivory cap at the other, with which the reindeer is prodded on. The Yakut drivers use, instead of a whip, an ordinary pole from three to four metres long, or a willow switch. When the driver thrusts the pole forward to the right of the reindeer, the latter turns to the left. As stated before, the Yakut use only a rein for the reindeer at the right. When the driver pulls the rein lightly, the right reindeer turns to the right, and pulls along the left reindeer. If the driver gives the rein a strong pull, the reindeer turns halfway round, and stops. At halting-points on the road, the driver thrusts the pole into the snow, and ties the rein to it. Then all the rear sledges of the train come to a stop.

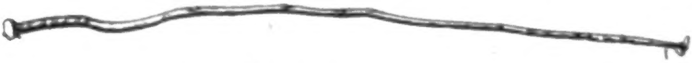


Fig. 64 ([illegible]). Reindeer-Whip. Length, 132 cm.

✓ In using the driving and racing sledges, the Koryak and the Chukchee drive sitting astride (see Plate XXIV, Fig. 1), while the Yakut sit sideways on the right side of the sledge. Plate XXIV, Fig. 2, shows a Koryak woman leading a train of sledges, and sitting sideways, like the Yakut driver, because she happens to be in a freight-sledge having a grated railing. As a rule, however, a young woman prefers to lead a train of sledges driving her own smart driving-sledge drawn by a pair of her own reindeer.

233 MANAGEMENT OF REINDEER-HERDS. — To pick from a large herd a number of a certain kind of reindeer is a very troublesome task. This must be done, for instance, when reindeer have to be given away with a daughter who is marrying into a strange camp, or when relatives or neighbors who kept reindeer in one herd separate to leave for different places, or when, in spring-time, the owner of the herd takes the pregnant does to a separate pasture.

Whenever this has to be done, all the herdsmen, as well as boys, girls, and children, get together. The scattered herd is collected and driven to one place, where it is surrounded by a chain of watchers, who do not allow the reindeer to disperse. In order not to frighten them, the watchers sit on their heels; but, whenever the reindeer attempt to break through the chain, the watchers jump to their feet, and stop the flight. In the midst of the herd is the owner of the reindeer, who intends to remain on the place, with some assistants. They capture their reindeer one by one with lassos, and tie one front-leg of each one to the corresponding hind-leg by means of a

short leather thong. When all the required reindeer are secured in this 233
manner, the watchers drive the herd to one side.

The tied-up reindeer remain behind until they are entirely separated from the free reindeer. Then they are driven back to the old pasture. I once witnessed the separation of a large herd, and saw what an amount of trouble this primitive method of surrounding the herd with people gives. Refractory reindeer break through the chain constantly, and lead away the rest of the herd. The fleeing reindeer then have to be rounded up, and returned to the enclosure. If the herd is not large, the enclosure is made of sledges arranged in a semicircle.

The Yakut reindeer-breeders have regular enclosures, made of poles, 233
near their houses. The enclosure is in the shape of a rectangle, the sides
of which form high fences, so that the reindeer cannot jump over them. 171
The rectangle is approached at one corner by a long passage, continuing one of the short sides of the rectangle, through which the reindeer are driven. Inside the enclosure, the herdsmen very seldom make use of the lasso, but capture their reindeer with their hands. Such enclosures are to be found at all the polar post-stations of the Yakut territory. Whenever reindeer are required to carry mail or passengers, the entire herd is brought from the pastures inside the enclosure, and, after the necessary reindeer have been selected, the herd is set free.

The size of reindeer-herds among the Koryak is, in my opinion, greatly 233
exaggerated by some writers. For example, Slunin says that the Koryak 114
herds number from ten to eighteen thousand head.[1] I had an opportunity of seeing some of the herds mentioned by Slunin, and our figures are greatly at variance. For instance, the Koryak Kulo, according to my information, had a herd of not more than three thousand reindeer; while, according to Slunin, it numbered fifteen thousand.

On my way from the Gishiga to the Kolyma River I spent two days in the camp of a wealthy Tungus by the name of Abraham, whose herd was estimated by Slunin at eighteen thousand head.[2] I myself saw that herd. It was not very large, and I was told that there were eight hundred reindeer in it. It is quite possible that not all of Abraham's reindeer were there, but that part of the herd was elsewhere. Even if we were to multiply by five the number that was given to us, we should get only four thousand, and even that number is too large for the herd of a Tungus breeder in the
Gishiga district. In the district of Verkhoyansk I knew a Tungus who had 233

---

[1] See Slunin, I, p. 634. Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 208) also gives improbable figures concerning the numbers of Koryak reindeer. He says that rich Koryak have from ten to thirty thousand reindeer, and more. The elder Etel Soplishoff had nearly a hundred thousand head. Kennan (p. 195) gives similar incredible figures. He asserts that the Reindeer Koryak of northern Kamchatka have herds of from eight thousand to twelve thousand head, and one of them had thirty thousand reindeer.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 634.

233 three thousand reindeer, and the largest herd that I ever saw near the Indighirka River was estimated at something over five thousand reindeer.

It is true that the Tungus, when speaking to Russians, always underestimate the number of their reindeer, so as to appear poor, since they do not like to kill them for meat, for which the Russians come; but such is not the case with the Koryak. They are very vain and boastful in that respect, and are prone to exaggerate the size of their herds. In the Taigonos Peninsula the chieftain would frequently say to me, "I am a rich man: I am very rich in reindeer." On the contrary, Abraham, the Tungus whom I mentioned above, tried to underrate in my opinion the size of his herd, calling my attention to the fact that it did not belong to him alone, but that all of his relatives had a share in it.

[592] On the Taigonos Peninsula, where the Koryak have mastered the art of counting, I took a census of the reindeer by households (I use the word "household" and not "family," because usually brothers and other relatives keep their herds together). I do not consider the figures that follow absolutely accurate, but they will give an approximate idea of the value of the Koryak reindeer industry.

233 592 511 I enumerated sixty-three households, which gave a total of 17,000 reindeer. The four largest herds numbered 2,000, 2,500, 3,500, and 5,000 head respectively. The remaining households had from five reindeer to eight hundred reindeer each. Thirty-four households, or more than half, had from five to fifty reindeer each. The majority of owners of small herds had no households of their own, but worked as herdsmen for the wealthy reindeer-breeders. Dividing 17,000 (reindeer) by 318 (the total number of Taigonos Koryak), and multiplying the quotient by 3,748 (the total number of Reindeer Koryak), we get 200,000, the probable total of Koryak reindeer.

233 437 439 The Koryak reindeer are intended mainly for slaughter. With the exception of a small number used for racing, driving, and as draught-animals in their migrations, the entire herd of a wealthy Koryak serves for consumption in various ways. From his herd he gets meat for food, and skins for clothing and tents, and he exchanges the slaughtered reindeer and their skins for articles of consumption which he does not possess. From the Maritime Koryak he gets by barter walrus and seal thongs, fat, oil, and meat, iron-ware made by their smiths, embroidered funeral dress, and dried fly-agaric. From the Russians he receives in exchange tea, tobacco, bread, printed cloth, and other imported goods. With the hunters he exchanges his reindeer-meat and reindeer-skins for the furs of fur-animals, which he again exchanges with Russian merchants for imported goods.

233 171 The great mass of the Tungus find in the reindeer merely a means of transportation. The Tungus households which own large herds are not of a uniform type throughout. In the Gishiga district the Tungus household has

some of the characteristics of the Koryak. The herd, though, consists mostly 233
of reindeer trained as riding and pack animals, but they are not let out
by their owners. Like the Koryak, the Gishiga Tungus have not advanced 171
beyond barter. The poor Tungus, in exchange for squirrel-skins and other products of the chase, receive from their rich fellow-tribesmen riding-reindeer, meat, and skins for clothing. The reindeer-management of a wealthy Tungus in the territory of Yakutsk resembles that of the Yakut reindeer-breeder.

The type of the Yakut reindeer-management is the very opposite of that of the Koryak. The profits from a Yakut herd are not derived from the sale or barter of meat and reindeer-skins, but from the use of the animals for transportation. The wealthy Yakut uses his reindeer for carrying merchandise all over the northern part of the province of Yakutsk, taking furs from the northern districts down to the Aldan River in the south, or to the Lena River in the west (where steamers ply in summer). He takes contracts for carrying the mail, and supplies the post-stations on the main and branch roads with reindeer and drivers. The Koryak reindeer are not adapted to such use. Besides, the Yakut population in the north is greater, trade is more considerable, and intercourse between different parts of the territory is livelier, than in the Koryak territory. In the latter the Russian merchants use dogs almost exclusively in carrying their goods, and hire their drivers mainly in Russian settlements.

The Kolyma merchants tried to avoid the transportation of goods from Yakutsk, or, by the recently opened trail, from Ola, by employing Chukchee breeders with their reindeer-sledges to bring merchandise from Gishiga to Kolymsk. Owing to their low standard of life, the Chukchee charge an insignificant price; and this method has proved cheap, but unreliable and slow.[1] The Chukchee made the trip in their usual fashion, travelling with their families and herds, and making about seven miles a day, so that the trip from Gishiga to Sredne Kolymsk took them about five months. The Yakut reindeer would cover the same distance with the same freight in from twenty-five to thirty days.

Comparing further the two types of use of the reindeer, — that of the Yakut and that of the Koryak, — we find that the respective uses made of the herds generally determine the great differences between the methods of training, composition, value, and profit from the herds.

As already stated, the Yakut originally obtained their reindeer from the Tungus, but they have greatly improved the Tungus breed. At present the Yakut reindeer is larger not only than that of the Koryak-Chukchee, but

---

[1] The first year the Chukchee received from the merchant who hired them two bricks of tea (according to Gishiga prices, fifty cents) for each sledge drawn by one reindeer for the entire distance from Gishiga to Sredne-Kolymsk. Each sledge carried one package of brick-tea, weighing five and a half puds (about two hundred pounds). For the same weight and distance, the Yakut would have charged five rubles per pud, or 27.50 rubles per sledge (about $13.50).

233 171 also n that of the Tungus. I remember one Yakut herd not far from Bulun, on the lower course of the Lena River, which surprised me by the great size of the reindeer. The Yakut have achieved this, first of all, by careful selection. The Yakut reindeer-herd undergoes constant change in its make-up. A wealthy Yakut reindeer-breeder is continually trading or selling his poor or stunted breeders, and buys, wherever he can, large, strong bucks and does, being ready to pay good prices, and thus all the time improving the race. Besides, the Yakut reindeer-breeders make a specialty of selling their trained reindeer for post-stations. The marks of the owners of the reindeer, in the shapes of initials, are branded by the Yakut with red-hot iron seals on the hind-quarters of the reindeer. Quite frequently Yakut reindeer are found marked with several brands, which shows that they have passed through several hands.

233 422 A Koryak herd undergoes but little change in its make-up, except what is occasioned by natural increase by birth, or by decrease from disease and from slaughter for food. The herd is closely connected with the family cult. The reindeer is the bearer of luck, and the protector of the family. Although the head of the family has control of the herd, it is still considered as the common property of the whole family.[1]

Moreover, each individual member of the family has under his or her own mark a certain number of reindeer which are considered as his or her personal property. Every new-born member of the family, independent of sex, receives, as a gift from the first fawns born after his or her birth, one or more female fawns. In time, under favorable circumstances, these become an entire herd, which are branded with a special mark, distinguishing them from other groups of reindeer in the herd. The Koryak mark of ownership is made on the ear of the reindeer. The operation is performed on the new-born fawn by biting off, or cutting off with a knife, a piece of the ear. The marks of ownership do not differ much. They are in the shape of a straight or curved line, an acute angle, or of two or three incisions in zigzag form. The Koryak readily distinguish their marks, even though they strongly resemble one another.

432 233 777 Although of late years wealthy Koryak herd-owners, for the sake of the improvement of their herd, are buying trained reindeer or good breeders from the Tungus, nevertheless they consider it a sin to sell any live reindeer. Reindeer that are sold carry with them the luck of the herd: therefore, when selling their reindeer for slaughter, the Koryak do not part with them alive, but kill them themselves. Under such circumstances, the slaughter of a reindeer that is sold is considered as a sacrifice to the Supreme Deity, and can bring no bad consequences.

---

[1] See Chap. XII.

The relative proportion of males and females in a herd differs in the 233
Koryak and Yakut herds. A Koryak herd is intended principally for slaughter.
To prevent the herd from greatly diminishing, the Koryak kill principally 171
the males, young bucks, or old barren females. For this reason the females in a Koryak herd usually are from sixty to seventy per cent of the total number. The Koryak, when speaking of the wealth of a reindeer-breeder, quite often have in mind only the number of grown does, not counting the bucks and fawns.

On the other hand, the Yakut reindeer are principally considered as working-animals; and more value is therefore attached to the bucks, as being the stronger. Only under exceptional circumstances do the Yakut kill reindeer for food; nor do they sell them for food at all, since the meat would prove too expensive. The polar Yakut herdsmen subsist principally on fish with a modicum of imported flour. At times they have horse-meat or beef, cow's butter, and milk, all of which are brought in the winter, in a frozen state, from the more southern Yakut settlements, where cattle-breeding is carried on. The Yakut would rather kill a female than a working buck; and the bucks all work, — not only the geldings, but those kept for breeding also. For that reason, it is quite common to find in a Yakut herd the number of females less than that of the males, the proportion of the former being from forty to fifty per cent. The Yakut harness even the female reindeer, not excepting the pregnant ones. I had occasion to drive pregnant does on the post-road even in April, when they were about to be delivered. In the two types of uses of the reindeer just described we also find a different treatment of the reindeer from the day of their birth.

The period of rut of the domesticated reindeer continues from the end 233
of September until the beginning of November, while delivery takes place between the beginning of April and the end of May. The greatest number of births occurs early in May. Both the period of rut and of the birth of the fawns takes place among the wild reindeer from ten to fourteen days later than among the domesticated race.

In the month of March, usually, the reindeer-breeder separates the pregnant does from the rest of the herd, and keeps them in another pasture. The herdsmen must look out for all the new-born fawns to prevent their freezing to death during the cold nights. I visited at the period of delivery, on May 7, 1901, a herd of does belonging to the Taigonos chieftain. More than half of them had already given birth to fawns. The place was an entirely open, treeless tundra, near the Chaibuga River. The snow, blown about by winter winds, was not deep. During the day it was beginning to thaw from the sun's rays, and here and there black hillocks, and earth covered with lichen, moss, and the previous year's grass, could be seen. The herd was scattered over an enormous area. Each doe seemed to keep apart with

233 her own fawn. Most of the fawns, but recently born (in fact, only one or two days old), were already running about with their mothers, who would run off at every attempt on my part to approach them. In a Yakut herd on the Lena River (1897), I could easily catch the little fawns, since their mothers were not afraid of people.

Almost all the fawns of the Koryak herd mentioned here were of a black or dark-brown color. Of the total number of almost five hundred fawns, I saw but ten or twelve pure white ones, and approximately the same number of dappled ones. I spent about two hours with the herd, during which time two does gave birth to their young. One of them, together with its new-born fawn, is shown on Plate xxv, Fig. 2. I took her picture during delivery, before the appearance of the placenta, when she was lying quiet.

The reindeer does produce young once a year. Not more than two or three barren females can be found in a large herd. When the weather is favorable in the spring, but few of the new-born fawns perish, usually from ten to fifteen per cent; but when the nights are cold, especially if there are snow-storms, many of them freeze to death. In a bleak spring the loss of fawns sometimes reaches as high as thirty per cent or more. On cold nights the Yakut reindeer-breeders place the does with their young in the long sheds described above, which diminishes the mortality of the fawns.

234 171 As a rule, the Koryak do not milk the does. Only on rare occasions, in the entire absence of food on the tundra, and when they do not like to kill the reindeer, do the herdsmen make use of reindeer-milk. The Koryak doe will not allow herself to be milked. The herdsmen throw her down on the ground, and suck the milk from the udder, like fawns. Some Koryak in close proximity to the Tungus have learned to milk the does. The Tungus are very fond of reindeer-milk, and drink it with tea. The milking is done by the Tungus as follows: —

A few men capture the doe and let the fawn come up to her, then suddenly pull it away from the udder, and draw the milk into a wooden basin. Not more than about three cups of milk can be obtained from a doe in a day. The milk is thick, very fat, and sickish to the taste. I thought its flavor resembled that of sheep's milk. The milking of the doe, of course, affects unfavorably the growth of the fawns. The Yakut do not milk their does, and that is one reason why the Yakut reindeer are taller and stronger than those of the Tungus.

435 The value of a Tungus, and especially of a Yakut, herd, is considerably higher than that of a Koryak-Chukchee herd. The price of a Koryak reindeer sold for slaughter varies from two to five rubles. The Russians usually buy slaughtered reindeer from the Koryak for from two to four bricks of tea per head. When buying slaughtered reindeer from the Koryak for food, I generally paid six bricks of tea, which was considered an unusually high price.

A brick of tea[1] is sold at Gishiginsk (the centre of Russian trade) for fifty 435
kopeks (about twenty-five cents); but, as the distance into the interior from that point increases, the price rises, until it reaches a ruble or more.

I have already stated that the Koryak do not sell their reindeer alive, 233
especially the driving or breeding bucks; but they exchange them for other 171 ●
reindeer. A good Tungus driving-reindeer is usually worth two Koryak
reindeer. The Tungus seldom sell their reindeer for slaughter. On my trip 435
from the district of Gishiginsk to the Kolyma River, I bought on the Var- 437
khalam River, in the camp of Abraham, the Tungus I mentioned before, a few reindeer for provisions on the way, and took them along with me. I paid six rubles per reindeer. A good Tungus riding-reindeer is valued at ten rubles. In the north of the Yakut territory, where the wealthy Tungus harness their reindeer to sledges and engage in transportation, a driving-reindeer is valued at from twelve to fifteen rubles. A Yakut draught-reindeer is valued still higher. On the Yana River and at the mouth of the Lena River, a good Yakut draught-reindeer is prized at twenty-five rubles. Not far from Verkhoyansk my dog frightened a team of harnessed post-reindeer. They started off, ran into a tree, and one of them broke its leg. It had to be killed; and by agreement with its owner, I paid him half of the cost of the reindeer, namely, twelve rubles. Since the Yakut will not kill their reindeer, they buy the skins of Chukchee reindeer or of wild reindeer for clothing. Not infrequently Yakut reindeer-herdsmen may be seen dressed in coats made of skins of musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) or mountain-sheep, or of skins of calves of cows, lined with the fur of hares.

A reindeer-herd multiplies very quickly under favorable conditions. Start- 233
ing with a herd of a hundred females in the second year of their life, when
they just begin to breed,[2] and assuming that they, as well as their female 433
offspring, will continue to produce one fawn each per year for the following ten years,[3] and, further, that the number of bucks and does born each year will be the same, we find that in the eleventh year the original herd of a hundred females would have grown to a herd of 11,420 head (5760 does, 5660 bucks). From this calculation it may be seen with what rapidity a reindeer-herd would multiply if its growth were not moderated by mortality among the fawns, by slaughter for meat and skins, and, above all, by epidemics. Barren does are so few, and stillbirths so rare, that these two factors need not be taken into account.

Of the annual offspring, the wealthy Koryak kill about half for meat

---

[1] A brick of tea usually weighs two and a half Russian pounds (one kilo); but some bricks weigh two pounds, and others two pounds and three-quarters.

[2] Quite often rut sets in among the does the first autumn after their birth, and they become pregnant.

[3] The average life of a reindeer is fifteen years, and the does bear until the end of their lives. Cases of the birth of twins are not rare.

233 and skins. The fawns are generally slaughtered in the fall, when they are
433 from five to seven months old. The skins are used for clothing, and are in
great demand for barter. Further slaughtering of grown reindeer in the winter by the owners for their own consumption, and for food for the Maritime Koryak and the inhabitants of Russian settlements, affects very unfavorably the growth of the herd. That is why there are so few owners of large herds among reindeer-breeders. Some herd-owners have become impoverished because the Russian officials compelled them to sell large numbers of reindeer for the Russian settlements in times of famine. The smaller a herd is, the more its growth is affected by the slaughter of the reindeer.

After all has been said, the great drawback to the growth of reindeer-herds is the frequent occurrence of epidemics, which, in a few days, may pauperize a rich reindeer-breeder. Detailed information on epidemics and diseases of reindeer has been given by Mr. Bogoras.[1]

It goes without saying, that the Yakut herds are not immune to epidemics; but in other respects the growth of the Yakut herd is much faster. Many Yakut in the Verkhoyansk district who but a comparatively short time ago purchased a few dozen reindeer from the Tungus, and engaged in their propagation, are now wealthy reindeer-breeders.

511 The Koryak reindeer-breeder has not passed as yet beyond a primitive
economic stage; that is, all that he needs for living he derives from his herd.
233 Although the herd of the Koryak may be said to constitute his capital, in so
433 far as the labor of hired herdsmen furthers the accumulation of that capital,
the only benefit which he derives from the exchange of reindeer for other things is the acquisition of articles to satisfy the current needs of the family. Under such conditions, the profit derived from a Koryak herd is insignificant. A large number of reindeer are slaughtered annually, — that is to say, part of the wealth is destroyed, — and in exchange for that, the reindeer-breeder seldom gets anything that will serve him for any length of time. We have here a case of most primitive barter.

171 As opposed to the Koryak, the Yakut reindeer household is founded on
a money basis. The reindeer serve here, not only as an article of barter for
436 goods necessary in the household, but as a source of earnings. The income
492 derived from the maintenance of post-stations and the transport of goods is
[495] very considerable, and is received in money. Wealthy Yakut herd-owners
have considerable capital, and even send deposits to banks. Communication over the entire length of the Government trail from the Aldan River, south of the Verkhoyansk mountain-ridge, to Sredne Kolymsk (a distance of 1350 miles) and over all branch-trails leading from that principal trail, is kept up by the Yakut in winter with reindeer, and in summer on horseback. This

---

[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 80, 81.

explains why the herd of a Yakut constitutes capital in the real sense of the word, and why the income derived from it, as well as its value, is considerably greater than anything the Koryak can realize. 492 171 ● 436

For carrying my collections from Sredne Kolymsk to Verkhoyansk (a distance of 928 miles) I paid my Yakut driver five rubles per pood (sixteen kilograms). For great distances a sledge drawn by a pair of reindeer is loaded with from five to seven poods.[1] Thus, in twenty-five days, the time it takes reindeer to carry a load the distance between the two points just mentioned, each pair of reindeer earned for its owner from twenty-five to thirty-five rubles, with no expense attached, except the small pay of the driver.

One driver is supposed to take care of from eight to ten sledges. He drives the reindeer attached to the first sledge, while each of the other teams is tied to the preceding sledge. The first sledge, carrying nothing but the driver and his provisions, is drawn by the most docile reindeer, yet they must be very strong animals. Quite frequently the reindeer in the rear — either because they are not used to the harness, or through laziness or exhaustion — refuse to go and pull back; while the reindeer in front, prodded by the pole of the driver, have to drag them on and force them to go. It often happens that when the reindeer are tired, all the rear reindeer lag, while the front pair are compelled to draw the entire train. Sometimes one or more reindeer in the train fall from exhaustion, and the front pair of reindeer drag them along on the snow until they are compelled to get up. If, at such times, the front pair become exhausted, the driver substitutes others, and hitches the former to the last sledge. 492 171

When the reindeer are exhausted or very tired, they begin to pant, and lie down on the ground, and no amount of beating will induce them to get up. It frequently happens that the exhausted reindeer fall dead. In my travels with post-reindeer which are usually over-driven, my reindeer would fall by the wayside exhausted or dead. If a reindeer lies down so that it cannot be raised, the driver unhitches it, and leaves it. If it should recover, he will pick it up on his return-trip.[2] It frequently happens that wolves devour such abandoned reindeer.

I remember that, at one station in the district of Kolymsk, the keeper harnessed to my train teams composed of Yakut and Chukchee reindeer. The latter he had purchased from the Chukchee to make up for the loss of station-animals. In spite of the fact that they were fat and strong animals, the Chukchee reindeer, being unaccustomed to fast driving, could not long

---

[1] For short distances a pair of Yakut reindeer can carry from nine to twelve poods.

[2] The distances between post-stations on the lonely polar trails vary from sixty to four hundred versts (40 to 265 miles). According to the rules governing post-stations, the reindeer must make fifty versts (thirty-three miles) per day. The same set of reindeer cover the entire distance between the stations.

171 492 keep up with the Yakut reindeer, and soon began to pant and fall, in spite of severe beating. We abandoned them one after another, leaving on the trail a few sledges with provisions, and finally reached the station on foot. The Chukchee reindeer were the usual little-trained draught-animals, which made from seven to ten miles a day in nomad trains, walking at an easy gait the entire distance.

233 171 COMPARATIVE REMARKS. — In conclusion I wish to sum up the chief peculiarities of the three types of use of the reindeer.

433 The domestication of the reindeer of the Koryak-Chukchee is very primitive. The economic conditions are still in the simple stage in which the herd serves merely to satify the wants of the family. Its principal object is to serve as a source of supply for food and clothing, the reindeer being kept mainly for slaughter. Transportation is but a secondary purpose of the reindeer.

The Tungus reindeer represent a more advanced type. Their chief use is as a means of transportation over the hunting territory, both as riding and pack animals. The household of the wealthy Tungus herd-owner approaches either the Koryak or the Yakut type, according to its location.

The Yakut reindeer are an improved Tungus race. Their principal use is commercial. They are the chief source of money earnings. The owners of one or two dozen reindeer seldom use them for their own household, but hire out themselves with their teams for the transportation of merchandise; or they rent their reindeer to Yakut contractors for a money consideration.

233 224 THE DOMESTICATION OF THE WILD REINDEER. — To what has been said on p. 471 concerning the possibility of taming wild reindeer I wish to add the following remarks.

114 It has been said that the Amur Tungus domesticate wild reindeer. I consider these reports, which are confirmed by my friend Mr. Sternberg in his review of Bogoras's work on the material culture of the Chukchee,[1] worthy of little credence. If the Amur Tungus could increase their herds by taming wild reindeer, they would surpass in skill the tamers of our zoölogical gardens, who succeed only to a certain degree in taming wild animals. In a personal talk with me on this subject, Dr. Sternberg told me that in the original draught of his manuscript he had written "enticing" instead of "taming," which might refer to the skill of the Tungus in enticing wild reindeer with the help of specially trained domesticated animals. This I know is done also by the Tungus of the Province of Yakutsk, and of the Gishiginsk and Okhotsk districts of the Maritime Province; but in those places it applies only to hunting wild reindeer, and not to capturing them for purposes of taming.

In the districts named, three ways of hunting wild reindeer with the

---

[1] American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, 1905, p. 322.

233 224 114 succeed easily with those of their country, by catching them with the lasso and keeping them tied up for three days before feeding them. After that treatment, he says, the reindeer are as tame as those of the domesticated herd. Presumably this report is based on a misunderstanding and refers to the first training of unbroken reindeer that are taken out of the herd.

233 171 I discuss the possibility or impossibility of taming wild reindeer thus fully, because the answer to this question is of the utmost importance not only from the point of view of the economic interests of the reindeer-breeders, but for the history of domestic animals in general. It is true that the domesticated reindeer differs little from the wild reindeer. So far, zoölogists have found no anatomic differences which would justify us in considering the domesticated reindeer as a distinct variety. From this it may perhaps be inferred that reindeer-breeding is of comparatively recent origin; but the fact must also be taken into consideration that the reindeer-breeders know hardly anything of artificial selection, and that domestication was not accompanied by changes in the feeding of the animals. However this may be, the more pacific nature, the familiarity with man (so to speak) and the readiness to obey him, which we find even in the primitive race of the Chukchee-Koryak reindeer, do not develop at once. These qualities are gradually acquired, and are transmitted by inheritance through a whole series of generations. This applies all the more to the race of Tungus reindeer. The comparative weakness of the reindeer is an advantage to man in the taming of this animal, which could not be accomplished by superior physical strength alone. I have already cited an instance of how the draught-reindeer of a primitive Chukchee herd, when first put into harness with Yakut reindeer, might be beaten to death, but could not be made to draw the sledge as fast as the Yakut reindeer do.[1] Should a wild stag, notwithstanding its innate fear of man, join the herd, attracted by the dams, there would be danger of the herd-owner, however vigilantly he might keep watch, losing a large part of his herd, which the wild stag would probably lead away into the wilderness. The invariable custom of the Chukchee of killing the wild reindeer attracted to the herd by sexual instinct appears to me to have been called into existence in a great measure by this very apprehension, and hence this custom is invested with a religious significance. When I consider reindeer-breeding as of recent origin, I still do not mean to assign to it a beginning very near to our times. The Chukchee-Koryak cult related to the domesticated reindeer, with its numerous rites and festivals, required much time for its evolution and establishment. As it is a matter of great importance, from the point of view both of science and of domestic economy, for reindeer-breeders really to be able to increase their herds by the taming of wild reindeer, let us hope that

---

[1] See p. 497.

future investigators of the reindeer-breeding tribes will pay to this interesting and important question the attention which it deserves.

In connection with the question of the occurrence of cases of taming wild reindeer, I will mention the account of a certain Yukaghir, quoted by Bogoras,[1] concerning the taming of wolves, and of their use in harness with dogs. I, too, have heard this story among the Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma, and, like Bogoras, I consider it a myth.

I will give another example showing how a mythical episode may turn into an account of a real event. We know from the Koryak myths that the evil spirits (kalau) keep herds of mountain-sheep (*Ovis nivikola* Eschholtz) instead of reindeer.[2] Now, Dittmar tells as a real fact, which evidently he had heard from the Kamchadal, that a group of Kamchadal from the river Moroshechnaya, fled into the mountains in order to free themselves of the necessity of paying fur-tribute, and that they wandered about there with a small herd of mountainsheep tamed by them.[3]

---

[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 101.

[2] See Part I, p. 241.

[3] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamtschatka, p. 413 (Russian translation, p. 356).

VI. — DOG-BREEDING.

231 492 174 THE BEGINNINGS OF DOG-DRIVING, AND ITS FORMER AND PRESENT EXTENT. — No doubt the dog was domesticated long before it was used for driving. According to a tradition recorded by me in the village Itkana, the use of dogs for driving, among the Koryak, began as follows. Once upon a time some children who were playing with a dog tied it to a wooden chamber-vessel (oča'lyo). The dog dragged the vessel along. "Ah," said the people, "it can draw!" and they hitched the dog to a sled.[1] This tradition points to the fact that in the memory of Koryak now living a reminiscence has been preserved of the time when the dog, though already a domesticated animal, was not employed for driving-purposes.[2]

492 171 According to the statements of early travellers and writers, like Marco Polo and Witsen, dog-driving in western Siberia was formerly employed much farther to the south than it is now. As stated by Witsen, at the time when he wrote (1785) there were no horses in the northern parts of the Yenisei district, but only dogs; and even near Tomsk horses were used in summer for driving, and dogs in winter.[3] Later on, the horse supplanted the Siberian driving-dog, and in the extreme north it found its competitor in the Arctic reindeer. In more southerly latitudes the dog has held its place as a driving and draught animal only in the southeastern part of Siberia, in Kamchatka, on Saghalin Island, and in the Amur region. In the well-known expedition to the Yugra country in 1499 the Russian Army was accompanied, according to Lehrberg, by hundreds of dog-sledges.[4] The same writer states that in former times dog-driving was in use west of the Ural Mountains in the government of Perm. Middendorf supposes that in Europe the driving-dog was superseded by the horse in antiquity, probably in prehistoric times. He

---

[1] Steller (p. 133) quotes the tradition of the Kamchadal, according to which their creator Kutka did not hitch up dogs, but dragged the sled himself.

[2] It is interesting to note that in Koryak mythology reindeer-driving as a sign of wealth is contrasted with going afoot as an indication of poverty (see Part 1, pp. 253, 281, 283), but not with dog-driving. In my judgment, it cannot be inferred from this that the Koryak dog was not used for driving until after the reindeer had been tamed. In the first place, the dog is the most ancient domesticated animal, and, besides, it was very easy to teach it to draw a sled; in the second place, primitive imagination, as well as the most modern, employs extreme situations to enhance contrast, unwittingly or purposely disregarding intermediate conditions that do not bring out the contrast so well. In one myth (see Part 1, p. 210) Big-Grandfather asks his daughters to give him some soup for feeding the dogs. He goes out and calls the dogs, and the reindeer which have carried off the Fog-Man turn into dogs and run back to the trough with their sled. From this myth it may be concluded that the creator of the Koryak world is conceived of as having driving-dogs.

[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 520.

[4] See Lehrberg, Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Russlands: I, Ueber das Yugrische Land (St. Petersburg, 1816), p. 17.

also thinks that the expression "pennikorm" of the Baltic Provinces (which 492
means "a dog's load"), which is used instead of "geographical mile", recalls 171
the vanished custom of dog-harnessing.[1] We find, of course, in many European countries at present, also the use of draught-dogs harnessed to small carts. I observed it in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. Milkmen, green-grocers, tradesmen, artisans, distribute or bring their products to market in carts to which are harnessed one or two dogs. The driver, man or woman, helps them draw. But this particular, limited use of dogs as draught-animals is quite different from the breeding and harnessing of dogs of the Siberian tribes, to whom the dog furnishes the only means of communication and transportation. It is possible, however, that the present use of the dog in harness in Europe may be regarded as a relic of a more extensive use of the harnessed dog in antiquity.

Considering the available data concerning the former extent of dog-driving in the West, we are forced to the conclusion that the changes in the manner of harnessing and driving dogs among the dog-breeders of eastern Siberia, which have taken place in historic times, occurred under the influence of Russian invaders, who had been familiar with dog-driving previous to their meeting with the East Siberian tribes.

I have remarked before that the region in which dogs were used as 171
draught-animals has narrowed down to a certain degree, owing to the intro- 492
duction of the reindeer. Most of the Siberian tribes engaged in dog-breeding, like the Ostyak, Samoyed, Tungus, Yukaghir, Chukchee, and Koryak, employ also the reindeer to such an extent that in many cases a large portion, sometimes even the majority, of the tribe, are engaged in reindeer-breeding. The tribes which formerly did, and do now, use only dogs as draught-animals, are the Ainu, Gilyak, and Kamchadal in Asia, and the Eskimo and Indians of northwestern America. The Russians now living in hamlets in the Far North (principally near the mouths of rivers) and in the extreme east of Siberia also use dogs exclusively for hauling loads and for travelling. In a few localities these Russians, who are fishermen, possess a small number of horses for riding in summer, but none of them have taken up reindeer-breeding, — an occupation conflicting with the sedentary habits of their former home.[2] In the north of the Yakut Province a few Russians own small herds of reindeer, but the herds are under the care of Tungus.

Both the modern driving-dog of Siberia and that of northern America 231
belong to the same wolf-like race of domestic dogs. Middendorf supposes 171
that it represents a cross between a wolf and jackal.[3] Schrenck, too, considers

---

[1] Compare Middendorf, II, pp. 519, 520.

[2] See the ethnographic map in Part I for Russian hamlets in the extreme northeast of Siberia.

[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 527.

231 the Eskimo dog as related to that of Asia. He thinks that the dog of northern North-America has reached there from the Old World.[1]

171 Except for its smaller stature (the average height at the fore-legs is between 50 cm. and 75 cm.) and more varied color, the dog is, on the whole, hard to distinguish from the polar wolf. Though a considerable percentage of dogs are of a uniform light or dark gray color, like that of the wolf, many of white color and black color occur; but particularly numerous are the piebald dogs, with white or black spots on their legs, chest, and sides. West of the Stanovoi Ridge more piebald dogs are found than near the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. For instance, along the Indighirka the majority of dogs that I saw were piebald, with white and black spots. This, in all probability, must be the result of intercrossing of the native dogs with the Tungus hunting-dog, which resembles the shepherd-dog, or with the dogs imported by the Russians. This may also explain the fact that on the Lena, among the Yakut dogs, I sometimes saw specimens with drooping ears. On the other hand, from crossing the driving-dog with the Tungus dog, which is smaller in size, there results a small fox-like type, with pointed snout, small erect ears, and bushy tail. Such dogs I met frequently on the Kolyma River. They very much resemble foxes, especially those with reddish fur. When in good humor, they turn their bushy tail upward; but when tired or disgruntled, they drop it and drag it, as foxes do. Then the round pupils of the eyes alone distinguish this dog from a fox.

492 171 The present method of driving dogs employed by the Koryak is identical with that used by the Russians and natives of Eastern Siberia, and particularly also with that used by the Chukchee, which has been described in detail by Bogoras.[2] Therefore I shall point out here only a few peculiar traits of dog-breeding among the Koryak, and its relation to their domestic economy. I shall also give some additional information relating to the distribution and types of dog-breeding in Siberia.

HARNESS. — To the three types of dog-harness mentioned by Bogoras, two others may be added, — the modern Gilyak and the ancient Kamchadal type. Thus we find the following five types: —

1. *The West Siberian Harness.* — It consists of a round strap encircling the dog's body like a belt across abdomen and back (Fig. 65). From the lower part of the belt, where the ends of the belt-strap are joined by means of a toggle, a trace runs between the hind-legs of the dog. Around this trace is wound some soft material, usually a piece of fur, to protect the legs of the animal. Thus the dogs are made to pull with their haunches. In describing the West Siberian dog-harness, Middendorf says that a small strap runs from the upper part of the harness, over the loins, to the main line, to

---

[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 167.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series pp. 98—114.

prevent the harness from slipping back upon the legs.[1] From Middendorf's description it does not appear whether he personally handled a West Siberian harness on the Yenisei River or a harness in use to the east of the Lena. I may add here that during my sojourn at the mouth of the Lena in 1897 I had occasion to see dog-breeders that came there from the Khatanga and Anabar Rivers, both west of the Lena, who had the same harness as is now found everywhere east of the Lena.[2]

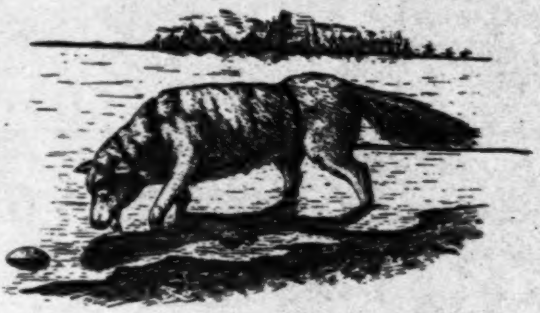


Fig. 65. West Siberian Dog-Harness (from Nordenskiold, I, p. 353).

2. *The East Siberian Harness*, also employed by the modern Koryak, consists of a long loop of skin (Fig. 66), the ends of which are united by a little strap terminating in a toggle, which is inserted in one of the rings of the main line. The loop is made of a piece of skin two or three fingers wide. The sides of the loop are united by means of one or two cross-strips of leather which go over the back of the dog. The dog is put into harness by passing its head through the opening between the top of the loop and the first cross-strip, At one side of the harness a small strap is sewed on, which serves as a belly-band. It passes under the dog's belly, and is fastened with a wooden or bone toggle to the loop on the other side of the harness.[3] Thus this type of harness resembles the Russian horse-harness. The top or the breast-piece of the harness, by which the dog pulls, rests on the chest;

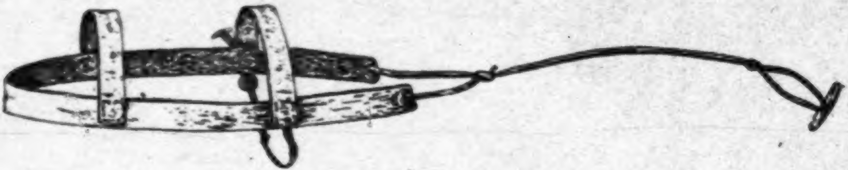


Fig. 66 ([illegible]). East Siberian Dog-Harness.

---

[1] Middendorf, II, p. 521.

[2] From the statement made by Middendorf (Footnote 3, p. 521), it may be inferred that in his time both kinds of harness were known on the Yenisei. He says that the Yenisei Yakut used to call the back-harness "Russian harness" (nuča'-alygga'), and the chest-harness "Yakut harness" (saxa'-alygga'). Judging from the name, Middendorf conjectures that the back-harness came to Asia from Europe.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 25, a, d, p. 108.

192 171 but often the band across the back is too short, or in driving the breast-piece of the harness slides upward, despite the belly-band, and the breast-piece comes to rest above the chest, so that the dog pulls with its neck, thus making breathing difficult. This is the principal inconvenience of this type of harness.

3. *The Eskimo Harness.* — Murdoch[1] describes this harness (Fig. 67) as follows: "The dog-harness consists of a broad strip with three parallel loops at one end. The head is passed through the middle loop, and a fore-leg through each of the side-loops, bringing the main part of the thong over the back." In a similar way Parry[2] and Nelson[3] describe the Eskimo dog-harness. The dog-harness of the Central Eskimo is constructed on the same principle. "It consists of two bights passing under the fore-legs. They are joined by two straps, one passing over the breast, the other over the neck. The ends are tied together on the back, whence the trace runs to the sledge."[4] From these descriptions it is clear that the Eskimo dog pulls partly with its shoulders, but mainly with its chest. Furthermore, the breast-bight or breast-piece cannot slip up, as is the case with the East Siberian dog-harness, and therein lies the advantage of the Eskimo dog-harness over all the others. The Asiatic Eskimo seem to use a dog-harness similar to that of the Central Eskimo; but in the illustration of the dog-harness of the Asiatic Eskimo, given by Mr. Bogoras,[5] the breast-strap joining the two bights for the fore-legs is not seen, so that it appears that the dog pulls with the shoulders only.

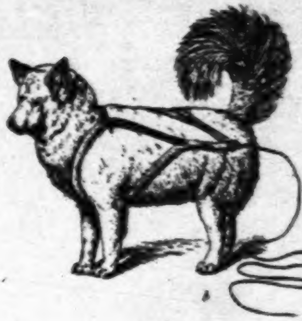


Fig. 67. Eskimo Dog-Harness. (From F. Boas, The Central Eskimo, Fig. 487.)

4. *The Amur Harness.* — This type of harness (Fig. 68) is very simple and primitive, consisting as it does of only one loop, which is put over the dog's head, in the form of a loose collar, so that the dog pulls with its neck exclusively.[6] In this respect the Amur harness differs, disadvantageously, from all others. Under great exertion or excitement, says Schrenck,[7] the dog is easily subject to suffocation. This dog-harness is used by the Ainu on

---

[1] The Point Barrow Eskimo, p. 538.

[2] See Parry, II, p. 517.

[3] Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 209.

[4] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 531, and Fig. 487 on p. 532.

[5] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 20, *b*, p. 98.

[6] See Schrenck, II, pp. 172, 173, Plate XXXVI, Figs. 2, 3. Sternberg (American Anthropologist, N. S., 1905, Vol. VII, p. 324) has pointed out the error into which Bogoras has fallen (owing to the indistinctness of several of Schrenck's illustrations) by classing the Gilyak harness with the modern type of Kamchadal harness (Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series p. 109).

[7] Schrenck, II, p. 173.

Saghalin, the Gilyak, and the representatives of Tungus tribes on the Amur River, who have learned dog-driving from the Gilyak.[1] 492

171

5. *The Ancient Kamchadal Harness.* — The modern Kamchadal dog-harness (Fig. 69), named "oblique harness" by Bogoras, differs from the usual East Siberian type in that it is shorter, has only one band across the back, and has no belly-band;[2] but, judging from Krasheninnikoff's (1733—43) and Dittmar's (1851—55) description, the Kamchadal of their times used for harnessing dogs simple collars or loops like those of the Gilyak, without cross-straps; but the manner of putting them on was like that of the Yakut reindeer-collars,[3] which on the right-hand animal are put over the head and the left fore-leg, so that it pulls with the right shoulder and in part with the chest, while the left-hand animal has its head and right fore-leg in the collar, and pulls with its left shoulder.

I find that among the five types of dog-harness here mentioned, that of the Eskimo is most effective. Next to it, the most practical is the ancient Kamchadal harness, which, in simplicity, even surpasses that of the Eskimo. The East Siberian harness occupies an intermediate place between the Eskimo and the Amur types, the former of which requires the dog to pull with the chest, the latter with the neck. The Amur and the west Siberian harnesses are burdensome for the dog, each in its own way. The former also prevents fast driving; the latter is a torture to the dog when drawing a load.

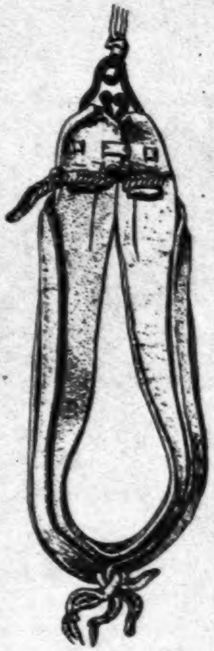


Fig. 68. $\frac{1}{18}$ c. Amur Dog-Harness.

000

The question now arises, to which tribe does the

---

[1] Schrenck, II, p. 175.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 25, *a*, p. 108; also Tushov, "Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka" (Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1906, pp. 77, 78; Figs. 12, 13).

[3] See before, p. 487, and Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 79. I will here translate Krasheninnikoff's own words, as his obsolete Russian and his inexact expressions, coupled with the absence of illustrations, may lead to misunderstandings: "The loops (collars) are made of broad straps, soft and folded double, which are put on the dogs over the shoulder-blade, — over the left shoulder-blade of the right-hand dog and the right shoulder-blade of the left-hand dog." This means that the left shoulder of the right-hand dog is in the loop, and it pulls with its right shoulder, and *vice versâ* in the case of the left-hand dog. That this description must be understood exactly in this way, may be seen from the passage in which Krasheninnikoff describes the Koryak harness of a pair of reindeer: "The loops by which the reindeer pull are like those of dogs: they are put on both reindeer over their right shoulder-blades" (Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 210); i. e., both reindeer pull with their left shoulders, as I have described before (p. 486). Dittmar's description is much clearer. He says, "Jeder Hund trägt nämlich beständig einen festen ledernen Halsriemen mit einem daran hängenden Haken und alle Enden der Anspannriemen verlaufen in eine weite lose Schlinge durch die der Kopf und ein Vorderbein des Hundes gesteckt werden, während die Haken der Halsriemen in die Wiederhaken der Schlingen eingreifen. Die Hunde ziehen also mit dem Nacken und der Brust,

492 snowdrifts, over hummocky ice, and rough ground, where the long traces of
174 the Eskimo harness may catch.

The Koryak make the dog-harness of hide of the thong-seal (*Erignathus*
281 *barbatus*), as well as of bear-hide. On the Kolyma, dog-harness is also made of ox, horse, and elk hide.

492 There is no information to the effect that dogs have been used in the Old World as beasts of burden; but, according to Klutschak,[1] the Eskimo
171 sometimes use dogs for carrying packs when sledge-driving becomes difficult or impossible. The dog of the American Indian is also used as a beast of burden. I have heard that prospectors in Alaska use the dog in the same way.

Methods of attaching Dogs to the Sledge. — Like the Russians of eastern Siberia, the Koryak nowadays harness the dogs in pairs, one dog on each side of a long stout main line (Plate xxvi, Fig. 1; see also Fig. 183). Probably this method has also been introduced by the Russians to facilitate fast driving, since in this way many dogs can be harnessed to the sledge. Judging from certain survivals of former harnessing, the natives of Siberia, who harness dogs tandem, formerly used to attach them to the main line singly, and alternately on the right and left of the trace. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma harness dogs that way even now; and the same is done by the Koryak when transporting household effects from the winter to the summer dwelling, and *vice versâ*, if their dogs are few in number. According to some statements, the Koryak in olden times did not drive fast. They harnessed few dogs to the sledge, and the driver himself helped to pull or push the sled, as the western Eskimo do. The Koryak often do so even now when moving from their winter houses to their summer quarters. To avoid the trouble of loading and managing a sledge drawn by a small team, the Koryak, who have few dogs, often walk from village to village, if these are not too far apart, carrying their goods in a bag on the back. In olden times walking was more in vogue than it is now.

According to Schrenck's description, the Gilyak, like the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, attach the dogs at equal distances apart, alternately on the two sides of the main line,[2] and there are only few dogs (about six or seven) in a team; while the Russians on the Amur attach the dogs in pairs,[3] with the exception of the first (the leader), which may be single, the team consisting of from five to seven pairs. This latter method is used by the Russians all over East Siberia. According to Krasheninnikoff, the Kamchadal of his day would usually harness only four dogs to a sled, but would attach them alternately or in pairs.[4]

The Eskimo generally attach the dogs so that the traces of each dog

---

[1] Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo (Wien, 1881), p. 83.

[2] See Schrenck, II, Plate xxxvi, Fig. 2, p. 172.

[3] Ibid., p. 173.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 77.

492 run directly to the fore-part of the sled. The line of one dog (the leader),
171 being somewhat longer, enables it to keep ahead; while the others, in running, are arranged like a fan. According to Bogoras,[1] this method of harnessing was still in use on the Chukchee Peninsula in the middle of the last century. On the other hand, the Eskimo about Bering Strait now employ both the Asiatic and the American methods of harnessing; i. e., tandem and fan-like,[2] having evidently adopted the former method from the Chukchee, or rather from the Russians in Alaska. At Point Barrow the Eskimo, too, now employ the Asiatic method of harnessing. As Murdoch[3] states, "the dogs are attached in a long line, alternately on opposite sides of this trace, just so far apart that one dog cannot reach his leader when both are pulling;" i. e., as the dogs are attached by the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, the Gilyak, and in many cases by the Koryak. The Eskimo about Bering Strait, in employing the tandem method, attach single dogs alternately, or in pairs if there are more than three dogs.[1]

493 THE SLEDGE. — The sledge now employed by the Koryak for dog-driving
174 is of the same type as that in use in the whole of northeastern Siberia, but chiefly among the Russians. This sledge, with its three or four pairs of vertical stanchions, with a horizontal front bow tied to the upturned runners, and with a vertical bow at the first pair of stanchions and a netting of thongs on the sides and in the back, is also in use among the modern Chukchee, and has been described in detail by Bogoras.[4] We do not know now what was the original type of the Koryak dog-sledge, but doubtless it was not the sledge above described. The ancient Chukchee dog-sledge had "curved ribs, similar to the reindeer-sledge."[5] The ancient dog-sledge of the Kamchadal[6] also had curved ribs. Accordingly there is no ground for assuming that the Russians adopted from the Koryak the above-described type of sledge with vertical bow. In Steller's time there were already in use in Kamchatka two types of sledges;[7] namely, the ancient Kamchadal sledge with curved ribs, and the present *narta* imported by the Russians. As with the dog-harness, so also with the East Siberian dog-sledge, I think that in its fundamental form it is a type of dog-sledge of some native tribe, most likely the dog-breeding Yukaghir, with whom the Russians fell in on the rivers Yana, Indighirka, and Kolyma, far back in the first half of the seventeenth century.[8]

---

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, p. 98.

[2] See Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 209.

[3] See Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, p. 358.

[4] See Bogoras, The Chukchee. Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 21, pp. 104—106. It should be added, however, that our information concerning the method of harnessing and dog-driving of the Maritime Chukchee of the Arctic Ocean between Cape Erri and East Cape is as yet incomplete.

[5] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 99.

[6] See Steller, p. 370; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 78; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 93.

[7] See Steller, p. 370.

[8] The Cossacks founded the town Verkhoyansk on the Yana River, and reached the Indighirka as early as 1699. Since then the Russians have been improving the local means of transportation.

But the Russians considerably improved upon the native type, and then 493 174 carried it to Kamchatka, the Koryak, Chukchee, and to the Russian settlers on the Amur. Part of the Yakut, who became dog-breeders but lately, have also adopted this type of sledge. Its structure, dimensions, and firmness are well adapted for fast driving, for carrying heavy loads, and for making long journeys, — conditions of which the primitive tribes of Siberia had no need, or much less need than the Russian conquerors, — at first for military campaigns, and later for mercantile transports, the conveyance of officials and priests, and for carrying scientific expeditions. For the transportation of passengers the sledge had to be made long, with a comfortable seat in the rear,[1] and room in front for the driver. I also think that the vertical bow [177] of the sledge is a Russian invention. When jumping off the sledge during the journey, either to run for a while or to urge the dogs along, the driver does not let go of this bow. If he should, the dogs, on scenting game, or aroused by something else, might suddenly run away, leaving the driver in the wilderness. This danger is great when the number of dogs in harness is considerable and the sledge is without freight. Once when I myself drove a team of dogs and got off to adjust the sledge, the dogs suddenly ran away and left me alone. Luckily there was a village seven kilometres away, where the dogs stopped, while I escaped with no more serious result than having to walk this distance in heavy travelling-clothes.[2] The Yukaghir of the 492 171 Upper Kolyma, who have few dogs, and who are in the habit of helping them to draw the sledge, use no vertical bow. In travelling over the Yukaghir territory on the Upper Kolyma River, I could make no use of Yukaghir dogs. They are unfit for fast driving with passengers and heavy freight. I had to hire horses from the distant Yakut villages. The Yukaghir themselves, in their wanderings, go on foot or on snowshoes. Only children and the sick sit on the sledges. But whenever I had to make short journeys, and it was inconvenient to send for Yakut horses, the Yukaghir, in order to carry me some five or ten miles, would combine the dogs of two or three households into one team. I would sit on the sledge alone, without a native driver. One Yukaghir on foot, — sometimes on snowshoes — would run in front, followed by the team; while another would run behind the sledge, holding in his hand one end of a long thong, the other end being tied to the

---

[1] To a sledge intended for passengers a high netted back, made of sticks and strips of leather, is attached.

[2] I knew a certain Yakut, Nikolai Sleptsoff by name, who lived on the border of the forests, on the Kolyma tundra, and who in the spring was driving a dog-team over the open tundra, and fell ill with snow-blindness. Unable to see the trail, he could not drive, and he let the dogs go, in the hope that they would take him to the village. All at once he felt that the dogs had gotten off the trail and into the soft snow. He got off in order to feel for the trail with his feet; but the dogs, probably roused by some beast that passed by, ran away with the sledge, and left the blind Yakut alone in the tundra. Sixteen days he lay there, subsisting on melted snow. The Reindeer Yukaghir found him in a dying condition, and cared for him until he had regained his strength. The dogs and the sledge were found by the relatives of the Yakut, who went in search of him. They had strayed far away from the tundra, into the forest. The dogs, entangled in the bushes and in their own harness-straps, had died there.

492 back of the sledge, to prevent the dogs, which are not directed by shouts,
171 from losing the trail, and to stop them whenever they might try to run away.

The Russian immigrants, although they have improved the local sledge, and have adapted it and the whole method of dog-driving to the new requirements of transportation, have nevertheless kept every feature required by local conditions. Thus the narrowness of the sledge has been preserved, which is necessary on account of the absence of roads, and the lashings by means of which all parts are held together. These give the sledge not only strength, but also elasticity, which enable it to resist the jolts that would break a sled joined with wooden pegs or iron nails.

In Whymper's book "Travels in Alaska,"[1] we find an account of Russian-Indian dog-driving on the Yukon River. It is to be regretted that it contains no detailed description of the sledge and harness; but it states that five dogs were harnessed to each sledge, that the sledges carried freight only, and that the men went on snowshoes. To judge from the illustrations, as far as they can be made out, the sledges were constructed somewhat like the East Siberian type. They had neither vertical nor front bow. The dog-harness, too, is apparently like that of eastern Siberia. The dogs are placed abreast, after the manner of the Eskimo.[2]

We have already seen that where there are few dogs in a team, the men usually walk, or even help draw the sledge. The manner in which the driver sits on the sledge varies in different regions. All the tribes using the sledge of the East Siberian Russians sit sideways on the right-hand side near the vertical bow, which is held with the left hand, while the shaft of the brake is held with the right. Thus the driver, without letting go of the bow, often jumps off the sledge and runs along, urging the dogs on with a shout, supporting the sledge on slopes, or pulling it aside from stumps, hillocks, and other obstacles on the trail. This sledge is also convenient for carrying passengers who sit in the back part of the sledge, their feet stretched forward, or who lie stretched full length under a blanket. The Gilyak sit astride of their light sledges, which have no bow, and are peculiar in that their runners turn upward both front and rear.[3] The dogs' labor is lightened by decreasing the surface of friction; but, on the other hand, the sledge sinks more easily into soft snow. Bogoras says that the driver of the ancient Kamchadal sledge sat astride it;[4] while Krasheninnikoff, in whose day the Kamchadal still employed the ancient type of sledge, says, "They sit on the sledge with their feet hanging down its right side; and to sit astride the

---

[1] See Whymper, Alaska, Reisen and Erlebnisse; illustrations on p. 188 and on titlepage.

[2] The photograph of a sledge of the Alaskan Eskimo from St. Michael in Nelson's work (Plate LXXV) strongly resembles the illustration on the titlepage of Whymper's book.

[3] See Schrenck, II, Plate XXXVI, Fig. 1; Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Survey [Moscou, 1904], Part I, p. 19).

[4] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 100.

492 sledge is deemed a great sin, for thus the Kamchadal women sit on it."[1]
On the other hand, Steller relates that the Kamchadal sat more frequently
● 171 on one side of their sledge to be able to jump down quickly in dangerous
places, but sometimes when driving on a smooth plain they sat astride.[2]

231 TREATMENT OF THE DOG. *Feeding*. — The northern driving-dog, being a carnivorous animal, requires for its nourishment the same food as man. This has the advantage that the procuring and storing of food for both man and his domestic animals may be attended to at one and the same time and place. On the other hand, an abundant supply of animal food is required: hence dog-breeding is possible only on the seacoast or near rivers rich in fish. Besides, dog-breeding necessitates settled habits, as it requires large stocks of animal food for the winter, when sea-hunting ceases, as is the case in the territory occupied by the Koryak. The main food of the Siberian dogs consists of fish. On the coast, fish is caught in summer in great quantities, and is conveniently prepared for winter supplies. The Koryak dogs, too,
[136] prefer fish to any other kind of animal food. The principal fish caught by the Koryak is the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*). It serves also as the staple food for dogs. In part the dogs' food is supplied by the small fish uyo'k (*Salmo socialis*). Dog-salmon dried in the sun is fed dry to the dogs during journeys. The skeleton of the dog-salmon, too, on which small pieces of meat remain after the soft parts have been removed for drying, supplies food after being dried in the sun. When at home, a thin soup for the dogs, made from the bones and heads of dog-salmon, dried uyo'k, and other fish-offal, is cooked in an iron kettle. Into this soup pieces of seal-blubber are sometimes thrown. The soup for the dogs, when ready, is cooled a little by pouring it into wooden or seal skin buckets (Plate XXVII, Fig. 1; see also Fig. 104), which are then carried out of the houses on the backs of the women by means of head-bands. As the food for the dogs is prepared of those parts of fish which decompose most rapidly during the summer and autumn, a strong stench fills the houses while it is being cooked. During our residence in the underground houses of the Koryak, this stench from the dogs' food caused us the greatest annoyance. The dogs are fed outside of the house. Plate XXVII, Fig. 1, shows two women pouring the warm soup, which is of the color of iron-rust, from wooden buckets into a long wooden trough. Before feeding, children untie those dogs, which for some reason are tied up. Impetuously the dogs make for the trough, and furiously begin to lap up the soup, dipping their snouts into the liquid up to the eyes, searching for the more substantial solid portions of the food. Fights are rare among the dogs while feeding, for they well know that the dog that starts a fight will be struck over the head by the women or children who supervise

---

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 81.

[2] See Steller, p. 371.

231 the feeding. No sooner, however, does a dog from another household approach the trough, than all will set upon it. A newly acquired dog is brought to the trough and watched, lest the other dogs attack it. After two or three days the pack recognize the new dog's right to come to the trough. A similar protection must be extended by the Maritime Koryak to a newly acquired dog that is for the first time put into a team.

As far as I know, among all the Asiatic tribes using the dog, only the
231 Gilyak feed the dogs indoors. For this purpose a high platform is erected
171 in the middle of the house, the trough with the feed is placed on it, and the
dogs are taken there.[1] The Koryak, Chukchee, Kamchadal, Yukaghir, northern Yakut, and coast Tungus feed the dogs out of doors. The Eskimo do not let the dogs into the house, but they lie in the entrance leading into the winter house. Murdoch says that the Eskimo women take care of the puppies as if they were babes, and carry them in their coats.[2] Among the Central Eskimo, "young dogs are carefully nursed, and in winter they are even allowed to lie on the couch, or are hung up over the lamp in a piece of skin."[3]

231 *Care of the Dog.* — Among all dog-breeders, — excepting the nor-
171 thern Yakut, who only lately reached the polar regions, where they took to
774 dog-driving, — dogs are believed to play a certain part in the world of the dead. The Yukaghir, Koryak, Chukchee, and Kamchadal believe that dogs guard the entrance to the country of the shades.[4] They must be bribed by the
343 entering shadows. They give a very ugly reception to the dead who while alive tortured dogs. These ideas are not foreign to the Gilyak, Aleut, and Eskimo. We find an entirely different attitude towards the dog among the Yakut, who originally did not breed dogs. They consider the dog an unclean animal. The shaman whose protecting spirit appears in the form of a dog is deemed bad. While even horses and cattle possess souls (kut), the dog has none. Accordingly it is not fit for sacrifice to evil spirits. The Yakut were offended when I took my dog along into the house, especially when I placed it near me in the front corner, the place accorded to guests of honor. The dog, a Yakut told me, brings into the house the evil spirits (abasy') that sit by tens on the point of the dog's tail. Hence I never saw a Yakut fondling a dog. He treats the dog with great cruelty. Among true dog-breeders we meet with a different attitude towards the dog. The Koryak often fondle them, and in caring for them, both at home and on journeys, oftener try to train them by caresses and kind words than by the stick. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, and also the Maritime Koryak, build on the side of the house rather

---

[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 168; Sternberg, The Gilyak (The Ethnographical Review, Bulletin of the Ethnographic Section of the Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography [Moscow, 1904], 1, p. 18).

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358.

[3] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[4] See Part I, p. 110.

roomy sheds for the protection of dogs during snow-storms. These dog-kennels 231
are made of logs, and have roofs with two slopes covered over with bark
to keep the snow of winter and the rain of summer from getting in through 774
the chinks. The back of the kennel is formed by the wall of the house. 171
The opposite side serves as an entrance. It is fenced off by a high threshold. 343
The depth of the kennel varies from a metre to two metres, and its height
is about a metre. These kennels are mainly intended for bitches with puppies.
Schrenck says of the Gilyak,[1] as Boas and Murdoch say of the Eskimo, that
they keep the puppies in the house.[2] Owing to the plan of construction of
the Koryak winter house, it would involve great difficulties to keep puppies
in the house; and for this reason they are not taken inside, notwithstanding
the great care bestowed by the Maritime Koryak upon their dogs.[3]

In the back part of the kennel, girls build a bed of dry grass for the 231
slut and her litter. Special nourishing food is cooked for the slut. Small or
even grown-up girls take the food to her by crawling into the kennel. They 857
see to it that the dog warms, feeds, and does no harm to the pups. Often
the sluts, especially if it is their first breed, display no affection for the pups,
and are inclined to desert them. When the pups grow up, the girls accustom
them to eat soup and finely minced fish from the trough. When the mother-dog
can no longer cover the growing pups with her body, or when she begins
to leave the kennel, the puppies warm one another by cuddling close together.
Each pup endeavors to get to the middle. On very cold days they lie this
way for days at a time, except when being fed, and they squeal on account
of the cold. The pups are very timid. At the end of the second month
they venture on sunny days to crawl over the kennel threshold to see the
light of day; but at the merest approach of man or of a grown dog, they
run back to their lair. The threshold is made principally for the purpose of
confining the young puppies to the kennel.

Steller thus describes the Kamchadal method of raising puppies and 231
training them for driving:[4] "When the pups' eyes were open, they were 171
placed with the bitch in a deep hole, that they might see neither men nor
animals, and there they were fed. After they had been weaned, they were
placed in another ditch. On reaching six months of age, they were harnessed

---

[1] Schrenck, II, p. 168.

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358; Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[3] I take occasion here to draw attention to the statements made by Kennan (p. 225) concerning Koryak dogs, and by Steller (p. 134) concerning Kamchadal dogs. Both authors state that they climb to the roofs of houses and into storehouses erected on posts. According to Steller, the Kamchadal dogs climb up ladders and steal provisions from storehouses; and Kennan relates that Koryak dogs will look into the opening from the roofs of underground dwellings and during their scuffles will roll down into the kettles in which food is being cooked. On no occasion have I seen Koryak dogs on house-roofs. They would climb over the roof of the anteroom and up the sloping walls of the house, under the cover of the storm-roof, where they found shelter from the winds. I could not teach a Koryak dog that I brought up myself to clamber from the roof of the ante-room to the house-roof by means of the holes in the post which serves as a ladder.

[4] Steller, p. 138.

231 to a sledge along with trained dogs, and driven over a short distance, and
171 then put back into the ditch.* Thus they were often taken out of the hole to be trained for driving. Only after they had gone a long journey, and after they had become accustomed to being harnessed to a sledge every time they were taken out of their hole, were they tied to the posts under the storehouses with the older dogs. The Koryak also begin to break pups when they are six months old. They are first kept tied to a line. Being used to running about free, they are impatient when tied up. They howl and whine, and are overjoyed when hitched to the sledge. Most of the puppies display such eagerness to run, that they are driven a short distance only to prevent over-exertion.

Pups born in spring or summer are put in harness with the coming of winter; but those born in autumn or winter are not trained for driving until the end of winter or spring, and are not used for driving until the following autumn.

231 According to Schrenck,[1] the Gilyak do not use female dogs in harness; but all other dog-breeders of East Siberia with whom I came into personal
492 contact, between the Lena River and Bering Sea, prize draught-bitches very highly. They are weaker than the males, but they surpass the latter in zeal, and perform their tasks more earnestly and diligently. Sluts, in addition, often exhibit more aptitude to act as "leaders" than do the males. Often a bitch is placed among the front pairs to induce the ungelded males to try to reach her and thus pull their lines well. No special care is given to pregnant sluts. They are usually harnessed up to the moment of delivery; but very often the women watch over them, and do not allow them to be hitched up. Should a slut deliver her pups during a journey, far from human habitations, the young ones are doomed to perish. One night when in camp on the snow, on our way from the coast village Kamenskoye to the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge, a slut of one of the drivers who carried my freight was delivered of pups at night while in harness. It was bitter cold and windy. The slut burrowed in the snow, and, shivering with cold, lay over her young in the hole she had made. In the morning, when we had sipped our tea by the campfire and began to prepare for the journey, the cruel master took the slut off from her puppies and harnessed her with the other dogs to his sledge. The puppies remained in the icy hole: the snow, which melted from the heat of the slut and her pups, froze. Two of the pups had died from the cold, while the remaining two were yet moving, but soon froze to death. The wretched slut lagged for a time behind the other dogs, but soon began to keep pace with them.

492 If a dog becomes so ill on a journey that it can no longer run, it is

---

[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 167.

good hunters, or families to which several hunters belong, can keep boats. 422
Every year the cover of the skin boat requires mending, and must be replaced 511
in parts. A large boat requires from fifteen to twenty seal-skins, each of 501
which has a market-value of from five to six rubles. The ratio of the number [435
of families possessing a skin boat to the number of those without one is not the same everywhere. For instance, on the Itkana, out of seventeen families, eight had no boats; while in Kamenskoye out of thirty, nine had none. The hunters of families without boats go hunting with the owners of boats, and then share the game with them.[1]

Kayaks. — Small skin boats for one man are made by the Koryak of 501
Penshina Bay. They are of the kayak type, like those of the Aleuts and of 171
the Eskimo from Greenland to Alaska. Mr. Bogoras says that kayaks are unknown among the Chukchee on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.[2] The Koryak kayak (ma̋'to) differs from that of the western Eskimo in some respects. It is shorter; the round manhole is not covered, and occupies the entire width; and prow and stern are of the same shape (Fig. 83). The skeleton of the 501
kayak is made as follows: A strip of wood curved upward somewhat both fore and aft serves as the "keel." To both ends of the keel the ends of curved poles, which serve as rails, are tied with thongs. As the keel is curved in a vertical plane, with its convex side downward, while both rails are in a horizontal plane, the rails lie on a level with the keel only at their points of junction, while at all other points the rails lie higher than the keel. For

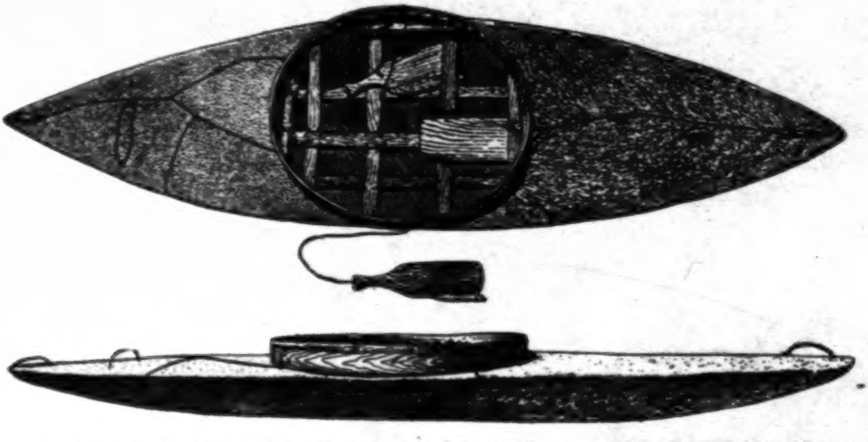


Fig 83 ([illegible]). Kayak, Top and Side View. Length, 269 cm.; width, 75 cm.; height, 28 cm.; weight, 32 lbs.

---

[1] See Chapter XIII.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 126.

and Kamchadal, who have no skin boats. These canoes are called struzhok 501
(стружокъ) by the Russians, and yañča'atwat or yañiya'atwat by the Koryak. 322
They are hollowed out of poplar or aspen trunks by means of an adze, and are so well made that they are not heavier than skin canoes.[1] The dug-out is propelled with a double-bladed paddle, while in shallow and rapid rivers it is punted with two short poles. The dug-out is rather a river-boat; but the inhabitants of Kamenskoye, and the maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka, go out in them on the bays to hunt seals, like the Kamchadal.

Another kind of dug-out, but for river use exclusively, is that called bat 501
(батъ) by the Russians, or eḷḷɪ'ut by the Koryak. It is about twelve metres long, or longer, narrow, and heavy, roughly hewn, and hollowed like a trough. It is in use also among the Kamchadal, but is not met with among the Yukaghir. This boat is used mainly for crossing rivers and for trips up and down rivers. It is built for two persons on the prow and one at the stern, who use long poles for punting. When fish are caught on the bank opposite a village, they are taken across in such boats. For ferrying cargoes and men across the river or floating them down the river, a catamaran is made of two such boats, which are joined by means of a bridge (Fig. 84). A double boat of this kind is very convenient for freighting, and is quite safe. Whenever the Koryak fish in the river, above their village, they descend with their families and their catch in such crafts when the fishing is over.

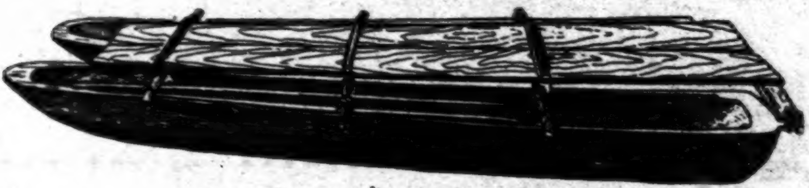


Fig. 84 ([illegible]). Model of a Double Boat. Length, 61 cm.

Hunting of Sea-Mammals. — Among the palæasiatic tribes, the seden- 225
tary Yukaghir alone live by fishing exclusively. The Kamchadal engage in 171
fishing principally, and hunt very little for sea-mammals. Among the Maritime Koryak, as among the Gilyak, the hunting of sea-mammals is of great importance, although at present in most of the Koryak settlements fish is a more important staple food than sea-mammals. In former times the hunt for sea-mammals was more important among the Koryak than it is at present. Like the Eskimo, the Maritime Chukchee continue to hunt principally sea-mammals, and fishing plays a secondary rôle in their household economy.

Seal-Hunting. — Seal is the mammal most extensively hunted, especially 000 point is attached to the line is tied firmly to the foreshaft. In all specimens 411 the barb of the harpoon-point is held to the foreshaft by a loop which 225 passes over the harpoon-head and over the thong loop by means of which the harpoon-head is attached to the harpoon-line. The latter loop is also attached to the foreshaft, which has a perforation for this purpose near its lower end. When the harpoon strikes the animal, the small loop which holds the barb to the foreshaft slipps off and the toggle-head comes off; without, however, being disengaged from the foreshaft, to which it is held by the small loop which passes through the perforation near the base. Two of the small harpoons here described have a screw cut into the base, evidently to give to the point a better hold in the end of the harpoon. The occurrence of the screw in [171] ● this position is interesting when compared to the screw devices used by the Eskimo in similar positions.[1]

---

[1] Further details concerning dug-out canoes will be found in the monograph on the Yukaghir.

Fig. 86 ([illegible]). Mallet for stunning Seals. Length, 52 cm.

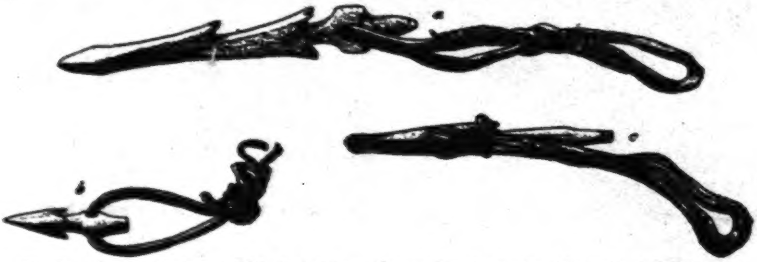


Fig. 87. Harpoon-Heads. *a* ([illegible]), Barbed bone harpoon (length of point, 16.5 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Small barbed bone point (length of point, 5.8 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Bone harpoon with iron blade and foreshaft (length of point, including foreshaft, 12 cm.).

The bone harpoon shown in Fig. 87, *a*, is evidently related to this type, from which it differs in not having a separate harpoon-head and foreshaft. It is evident, however, that the perforation at the base, through which the line loop passes, corresponds to the small perforation in the type of harpoon described before. The modern iron harpoon shown in Fig. 88, *c*, is closely related to the bone harpoon just described, from which it differs only in the arrangement of its barbs. To the same type belong the iron harpoons figured by Bogoras.[2]

---

[1] See Globus, Vol. 79, p. 8; Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV, p. 397.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 32, *f*, *g*, p. 116.

There are two kinds of harpoon-shafts, — the simple shaft (Fig. 90, *a*); and a longer one, used with a throwing-board (Fig. 90, *b*, *c*). It is curious that the Chukchee employ a throwing-board only for casting the bird-dart.[1] On the other hand, the Eskimo of Baffin Land and of Alaska make use of the throwing-board both for the seal-harpoon[2] and for the bird-dart. 411 225 [171] ●

The method of attaching the foreshaft and the harpoon-head to the harpoon-shaft is shown in Fig. 90, *a*. It will be noticed that the line passes through a loop which is inserted in the shaft near its point. The loop consists of a small strap, and is closed by a button. It will thus be seen that the harpoon-point, after the animal has been hit, remains attached to the short shaft, which acts as a drag and float.

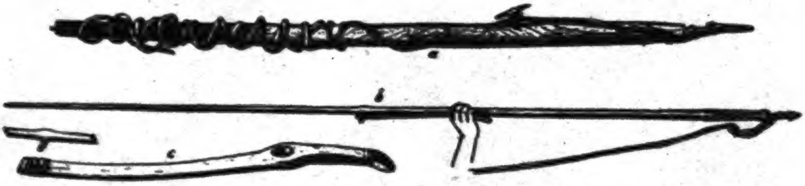


Fig. 90, *a* (70/3571), Harpoon (length, 119 cm.); *b* (70/3573), Long Harpoon with Throwing-Board (length of harpoon, 211 cm.); *c* (70/3573 b), Throwing-Board (length, 45 cm.).

At its tip, the shaft of the long harpoon has a head made of bone of whale, with a hollow in its upper part, into which the lower end of the harpoon-head is inserted. The shaft tapers down to its butt-end. The throwing-board has two holes. Into one of these, in the handle part, the index-finger of the right hand is inserted; while into the other, in the back, is inserted a bone peg, which is driven into the harpoon-shaft a little behind the middle (Fig. 90, *c*). The thumb grasps the shaft on the left side, while the other three fingers support it lightly on the right. The bone peg is curved back somewhat toward the butt-end of the shaft to prevent it from slipping off the throwing-board by the weight of the forward part of the shaft and head. It is specially liable to do so, owing to the inclination of the harpoon when hurled from the skin boat. When the harpoon is hurled forward with great force, by means of the impetus given by the swing of the throwing-board, which acts against the peg, the hand quickly lets go the shaft and at once makes a backward movement. The peg is set free, the shaft with its head darts on in the desired direction, and the throwing-board remains in the hunter's hand. After the harpoon-head has been driven into the animal's body, the shaft is set free by the shock, and falls into the water, from which the hunters take it back after the animal has been killed. The seal immediately dives, drag-

---

[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of the series, pp. 145, 146; Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 496.

[2] See Boas, Eskimo of Baffin Land, p. 80; Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait. p. 136.

271 skin pails. The Maritime Koryak carry a supply of fresh water when hunting
in their skin boats. In order to avoid the necessity of melting snow and ice,
in winter, water is generally taken from ice-holes. All the settlements of the
361 Maritime Koryak are situated on the banks or at the mouths of rivers. The
312 Reindeer Koryak, too, place their tents in river valleys. Plate xxx, Fig. 1,
represents an evening scene by an ice-hole in the village Big Itkana, where
girls and boys come with buckets to fetch water for the
415 night. The water is poured into the bucket with a
wooden scoop. Water-buckets are made of strong thong-
281 seal skin or of aspen or poplar wood. Fig. 104 shows
a skin bucket. Among the Eskimo are found buckets of
[313] the same type, made of seal-skin and sewed together
with sinew-thread.[1] They are carried in a different man-
481 ner however. The Eskimo bucket has a handle made of
a strip of leather, like a regular bucket-handle, while the
● 171 Koryak bucket has two loops sewed on near the mouth.
To these loops are tied the ends of a broad seal-skin
carrying-strap, which is passed over the forehead, the
bucket resting on the back, — a method of carrying
burdens employed by many Indian tribes.

322 The thick wooden bucket is also cylindrical. The
material is supplied by a part of a straight and solid
415 trunk of an aspen or poplar tree, which is hollowed out
by means of an adze, and finished with a simple knife.
The wooden bottom is inserted from above. Wooden
buckets are carried by women in the same way as seal-skin buckets (see
Plate xxxv, Fig. 2).

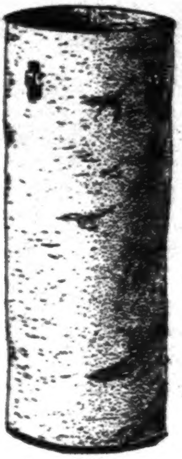


Fig. 104 ([illegible]). Skin Bucket.

415 The wooden bucket is used for many purposes: when hunting sea-mam-
mals, it serves as a receptacle for the harpoon-heads; in the house, seal-oil
is kept in it; berries are also kept in both wooden and skin buckets; soup
for feeding dogs is carried out of the house in wooden buckets.

The material for spoons and ladles is furnished by the antlers of the
[237] reindeer and the horns of the mountain-sheep. Some are made of wood.
Broth is sipped from deep ladles; thick porridge or gruel is eaten with spoons:
[264] therefore spoons are shallow (Fig. 105, *a*). Bone teaspoons (Fig. 105, *b*) are
[556] made in imitation of imported metal spoons. Wealthy Reindeer Koryak pur-
chase metal table-spoons; some of them even have silver spoons.

Wooden plates, dishes, elongated platters and trays, and wooden and bone
dippers, are of the same type as those of the Chukchee,[2] and I shall not

---

[1] See, for example, Kroeber, The Eskimo of Smith Sound, Fig. 31, p. 288; and Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig 142, p. 99.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 189.

000 aspen-bark. Though the Koryak are not such passionate tobacco-consumers 276 as the Yakut, Tungus, Yukaghir, and other Siberian natives, hardly a man 171 is to be found who does not use tobacco in one form or another. Many of the women, however, hardly use tobacco at all; while among the tribes mentioned above, not only every woman and adult girl, but even girls in their early teens, have their own pipes and tobacco-pouches; and the lack of tobacco is considered to be worse than hunger.

276 The Koryak are most passionate consumers of the poisonous crimson fly-114 agaric, even more so than the related Kamchadal and Chukchee, probably 137 because the fungus is most common in their territory. Some travellers, as Krasheninnikoff and Dittmar, were of the opinion that the fly-agaric was bought by the Koryak from Kamchatka. Thus, Dittmar says that there is no fly-agaric on the Taigonos Peninsula,[1] and that it is brought there from Kamchatka; while Krashennikoff[2] asserts that in general the Koryak have no fly-agaric, and that they get it from the Kamchadal. My own observations, however, have convinced me that not only is fly-agaric abundant all over the Koryak territory, but that the Koryak supply the Chukchee with it. In the middle of the month of August I saw in the valley of the Varkhalam River, not far from its mouth, an extensive field dotted with the characteristic crimson 413 caps of the fly-agaric, with their white spots. In the villages of the Maritime Koryak, along the whole western coast of Penshina Bay, I knew individuals who were engaged in gathering and drying fly-agaric, and who carried on a very profitable trade in it. One Koryak from Alutorsk, who dealt in fly-agaric, is mentioned by Slunin.[3]

276 The Koryak do not eat the fly-agaric fresh. The poison is then more 171 effective, and kills more speedily. The Koryak say that three fresh fungi suffice to kill a person. Accordingly, fly-agaric is dried in the sun or over the hearth after it has been gathered. It is eaten by men only; at least, I never saw a woman drugged by it.[4] The method of using it varies. As far as I could see, in the villages of Penshina Bay, the men, before eating it, first let the women chew it, and then swallow it. Bogoras[5] says that the Chukchee tear the fungus into pieces, chew it, and then drink water. Slunin describes in the same way[6] the Koryak method of using fly-agaric. In describing the use of fly-agaric by the Chukchee and Koryak, Dittmar[7] says that they chew it, and keep the quid in their mouths for a long time without swallowing it. Krasheninnikoff[8] says that the Kamchadal roll the dried fungus up in the form of a tube, and swallow it unchewed, or soak it in a decoction of willow-herb and drink the tincture.

---

[1] Dittmar, p. 451. [2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 150. [3] Slunin, I, p. 654.

[4] Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 150) says that the Kamchadal women do not eat fly-agaric, but Dittmar (p. 106) cites the case of a Koryak woman (a shaman) who was intoxicated by it.

[5] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 205.

[6] Slunin, I, p. 655. [7] Dittmar, p. 506. [8] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 147.

IX. — CLOTHING.

281 291 171 **Winter Clothing of Men and Women.** — The winter clothing of both branches of the Koryak is made of reindeer-skins. Skins of other animals are used only for trimming or adorning winter clothing. Only fur caps and mittens are not infrequently made entirely of dog, fox, or wolf skin, and the soles of boots are made of thong-seal or walrus hide. Skins of grown reindeer are not used for clothing, but only those of fawns, beginning with the newly born and up to seven months old. The warmest clothing is made of skins of fawns six or seven months old, which are killed late in autumn. Their fur consists of fine, soft, not long, but very thick hair. Clothing made of fawn-skins is not only warm, but is also remarkably light in weight. Owing to the lack of fawn-skins, the Yukaghir and Tungus often make their winter overcoats of heavy winter skins of old reindeer. These are so heavy that they impede the motion of the wearer. Clothing made of the skins of mountain-sheep is equally heavy.

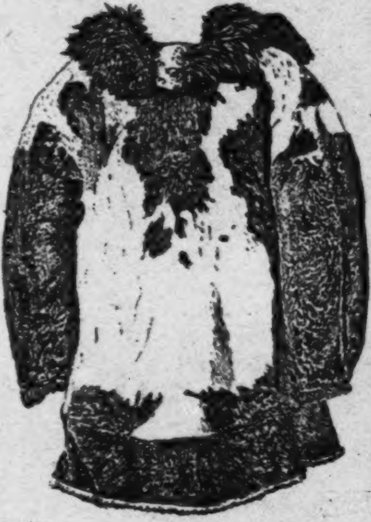


Fig. 115 ([illegible]). Man's Coat.

Winter Coat. — The fundamental pattern of the coat is the same for men and women. It has the shape of a fur shirt which is pulled down over the head. The man's coat, especially that of the Reindeer Koryak who ride astride on their light sledges, is shorter than that of the woman (Fig. 115). It does not reach down to the knees; while that of the women falls lower, usually down to the calves of the legs. The winter travelling-coats of old men, especially of the Maritime Koryak (Plate XXXII, Fig. 1), reach sometimes below the knees. The cut of the coat is the same as that of the Chukchee. The sleeves are very full about the fore-arms to enable the wearer to draw his hands out and hide them within the shirt, and narrow about the wrists to prevent the easy access of cold air. The difference between the Koryak coat and that of the Chukchee is, that between the lower border and the fur

281 trimming there is inserted a strip of reindeer-skin about four or five inches wide, and of a color different from that of the whole coat. If the coat is
291 made of dark skins, the inserted strip is of light or mottled color, and *vice
171 versâ*. The Chukchee woman's coat is generally shorter than that of the Koryak. Under the coat of the Chukchee woman the lower part of the trousers is visible, but rarely under that of the Koryak woman. Among the Chukchee, coats are seldom provided with hoods, while among the Koryak all the women's coats and many of the men's travelling-coats, are furnished with hoods. Funeral clothing is never made without hoods.[1] The women of the Maritime Koryak use almost no caps at all, contenting themselves with throwing their hoods over their heads. The women of the Reindeer Koryak go without caps,[2] not only about the house, but even to the herd.

The travelling-coat of men for winter (la′xlan-ı′ san) is double, consisting of two fur shirts so adjusted that one is inside the other, and they are put on and taken off together. The inner shirt has the hair toward the body; the outer, outward. The two shirts are not sewed together, so that they are easily taken apart and can be worn separately. The outer one is made of the skins of fawns, preferably of those of mottled color killed late in the fall. Black or dark brown spots on a white or grayish background are considered
291 particularly pretty, but the skins most commonly used have white or grayish spots on a dark or a light-tawny background. White or light-gray skins are
[177] used for funeral clothing only.[3] Russian settlers and Russianized natives prefer black or dark-tawny reindeer-skins. In certain localities this taste is developing also among the Koryak. Thus the Koryak who are engaged in trade, and rich reindeer-breeders, wear outer coats of dark skins. The inner coat is usually made of skins of younger fawns, from one to three months old, so that the double coat may not be too thick and hinder movement. Besides, the tender fur of young fawns is more pleasant to wear next to the body than the thicker hair of the older fawns. The Koryak wear fur clothing next to the body. Excepting those entirely Russianized, very few Koryak wear chintz or calico shirts under the fur clothing. These are worn without change until they fall to pieces.[4]

291 Women rarely wear a double winter coat, as they put the coat on over
281 the double fur combination-suit which will be described later on. For the
294 most part, women wear the single coat, fur inward. The skin side, well

---

[1] See Part I, pp. 106-108.

[2] It is interesting to note here Turner's statement that the Eskimo of Hudson Bay "do not wear caps, the hood of the frocks being the only head-covering" (see Turner, p. 209).

[3] See Part I, p. 105. According to Murdoch (p. 109), the Eskimo of Point Barrow value the skins of the white Siberian domestic reindeer highly "for full-dress jackets." But the Koryak do not wear clothing of white skins.

[4] Like the Russian settlers, the Koryak of Russianized villages wear chintz shirts, flannel blouses, or knit jackets under their fur coats. I saw some Maritime Koryak wearing American knit sweaters or coats purchased from the American whalers. A very comical figure indeed was presented by a Koryak clad in trousers and boots of reindeer-skins and a cutaway coat of modern stile, which he wore without shirt and vest.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R Y4 Koryak R Y4

dressed, is dyed a dark red or tawny hue, and adorned with pendants, stripes, 291
and square patches of white skin, and with glass-bead embroideries.[1] 294

To the breast of the outer coat with attached hood, and near the collar, a fur flap made of the skin of reindeer-legs is sewed (see Fig. 116). This 281
flap serves to protect the face from cold winds. In the funeral coat this flap is used for covering the face of the deceased.

At home, or when working near the house, the Koryak men, even in the cold of winter, ordinarily wear a single fur shirt with the fur side either in or out. A coat worn with the flesh side next the body has the advantage that the hairless skin does not afford nesting-place for insects; but, on the other hand, it is easily soaked by perspiration, and hardens when it dries again. The single coat is shorter than the double one, and has no hood. The neck is wide enough to allow the head to pass through freely. It has a hem of skin, through which a nettle cord or leather strap is passed for tightening the collar. The ends of the cord are tied in front. To the necks of most single shirts a collar of black dog-fur is sewed. These collars are of varying width. I saw particularly wide dog-fur collars among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula (see Plate XL., Fig. 1). The fur of white dogs is used only for trimming funeral clothing.

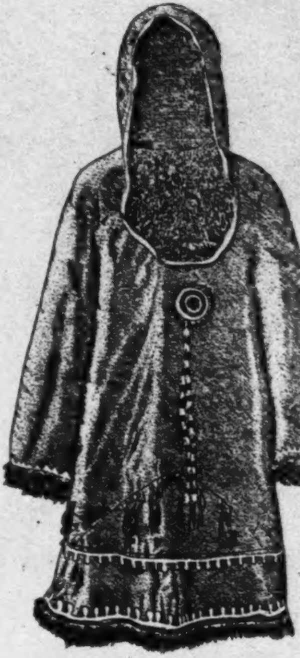


Fig. 116 ($\frac{70}{3472}$). Woman's Coat.

Woman's Winter Combination-Suit. — It has been stated before that women do not wear fur shirts next to the skin. Under the shirt they wear a fur suit similar in cut to the modern combination underwear for women. Such fur [171] ●
suits are worn in Siberia by the women of the Chukchee, Asiatic Eskimo,[2] and Koryak, and, according to a statement of Nelson, by the Eskimo women on Diomede and St. Lawrence Islands.[3] In former times all the Kamchadal women also wore such suits.[4] The Koryak call this suit ña'u-kei ("woman's combination") in contrast to the children's combination-suit called kei-kei. The

---

[1] On the adornment of clothing, see Chapter XI.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 244.

[3] Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 30.

[4] See Steller, I, p. 37; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 64.

sitting down, they fold the sleeves over their knees. In the Koryak villages 514
or camps, wonen may often be seen sitting down in this fashion and keeping
up their conversation with their companions or with the men. The coat-skirts
touch the ground, and give to the women who are thus sitting down an
entirely careless and easy appearance. When rising, they re-adjust their suits
almost unnoticeably to an observer.

While travelling, wealthy Koryak wear over the fur coat a wide shirt 291
with a hood of plain curried or smoked reindeer-skin or of flannel or chintz.
The outer shirt protects from the wind and preserves the fur clothing from 177
snow, which, on melting, would soak into the hair and cause it to fall off.
An overcoat of gaudy chintz, flannel, or other imported goods, has now
become an article of smart dress. For overcoats the wealthy reindeer-breeders
buy imported red broadcloth at high prices. Thus a yard of the coarsest
red broadcloth frequently brings one cross-fox in exchange.

Fig. 120 represents a coat made of reindeer-skins, in the style of a jacket with an opening in front. It was purchased by me from the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. Coats of this pattern are found in other places as well, though very rarely, and seem to be an imitation of the Russian style. They differ from the Tungus coats in that the lapels come together, while in the Tungus coats they are cut like those of a cutaway coat.

Men's Winter Trousers. — The winter trousers are double, like the 291
coat (Fig. 121). The outer ones are made of shaggy skins of older fawns.
The trousers have no belt. Along the top edge a hem of skin is sewed on, 291
through which a string passes for drawing them tight. In front they cover 294
only the lower part of the abdomen, about the groins; in the back they are
cut a little higher, and reach to the upper rim of the pelvis. The trousers
have a tendency to slip down, and a Koryak may often be seen raising his
trousers with a movement of the hand along the coat. There is no slit in
front for voiding urine. There is no need of such a slit, because the border
of the trousers comes very low down on the abdomen. In front, where the
draw-string is pulled tight, a flap of skin is either pulled up underneath it,
above the upper border of the trousers, or it is turned in over the draw-string
to keep it from cutting the abdomen. Men's trousers are quite tight-fitting.
Narrowing down, they reach a little below the calves, and are drawn together
about the legs with draw-strings, just as they are around the waist. The legs
of the fur boots are tied over the trousers. The Reindeer Koryak, especially [171]
on the Palpal, wear wide winter trousers cut like those of the Chukchee,
which reach down to a little above the ankles, and are tied over the short-legged shoes.

Fig. 122 represents a man's winter trousers, with boots sewed on. Such trousers are rarely met with, and are either imitations of a foreign type or relics of an older fashion. Among the Yukaghir may be found boots with

291 by the moss and powder, and remain there until the mother unties the flap.
The soiled moss is thrown out, the babe's body is wiped with clean moss,
854 and the flap is tied up anew. In infants's suits, the sleeves and the legs are
sewed up.[1] Nurslings up to a year and over have two suits, — one for the
daytime, made of soft fawn-skins; and one for the night, made of thin skins
[50 of new-born fawns, or of curried leather. Older children sleep naked at night,
– like adults, and hence have only suits for the day. Children's night-suits are
made light to keep them from being too hot under the fur blanket. The
night-suit is put on infants to prevent soiling the bedding. This preventive
is the more necessary, as the Koryak have no cradles or cribs, and the
children sleep with their mother under one blanket made of reindeer-skins.

291 855 Children able to walk run about the house or the camp with the flap untied, and dangling down like a tail. When it is time to break camp, these children, like nurslings, have their flaps tied up. When children begin to walk, slits are made at the wrist parts of their sleeves to enable them to stick their little hands out and take them in; and instead of closed trousers, boots with separate stockings are given them. In the camps of the Reindeer Koryak I had occasion to see children seven or eight years old in children's combination-suits with the flaps hanging down at the back. On Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1, are represented a boy and girl of seven or eight years, with their flaps tied up. As this was in April, at a temperature of not lower than —15° C., they no longer wore their hoods; and the girl had even freed her right arm, and was playing in the cold with her breast bare. Plate XXXIII, Fig. 2, represents a boy without coat. At about the age of five, boys and girls begin to wear men's and women's clothing (Plate XXXIV).

292 ●171 Coats with Tails. — It is interesting to note that the skirts of funeral coats,[2] chiefly those of men, terminate at the back in a tail-like flap. This flap has a special name, ñoiñın. It is evident that in former times even common coats were cut that way. In some myths we find tails described and considered as ornaments of ordinary coats.[3] In describing Kamchatka clothing, Steller[4] says that only women's coats were furnished with tails; while Krasheninnikoff[5] says that men, too, used to wear tailed coats, and that accordingly the round and tailed coats were distinguished. On the Kolyma tundra the cut-away coat of the Reindeer Yukaghir, who have adopted this style from the Tungus, has a tail behind. Something similar is found in the coat of the Yenisei Tungus, as described by Middendorf.[6] As is well known, the peculiar coat of many Eskimo women is cut in deep at the sides, so that in

---

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 184, p. 252.

[2] See Fig. 225; also Part I, Fig. 44, p. 106.

[3] See, for instance, Tale 59, p. 217. The wife of Envious-One had an embroidered fur coat with a tail.

[4] Steller, p. 307.

[5] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 61.

[6] Middendorf, p. 702.

292 ●171 front and behind the rounded ends of the coat dangle like an apron and a tail. The flap behind is longer than the one in front. Among most Eskimo, only the men wear short coats cut evenly all round. But Nelson states that "from the Yukon mouth northward to Point Barrow, the frocks of the men are cut a trifle longer behind than in front."[1] This calls to mind the tail of the coat of the tribes of northeastern Siberia. In describing the dress of the Iglulimiut, Parry[2] says that "the men have also a tail in the hind part of their jacket," but smaller than with women. According to Boas,[3] coats with short tails behind are also worn by the Cumberland Sound Eskimo. The reindeer-skin coat of men of the Hudson Bay Eskimo has a tail behind.[4] It is quite possible that this cut of the back of the coat of the tribes mentioned has a common origin. So far as is known to me, however, the Chukchee have no tails on their coats, and the illustrations given by Bogoras show no such tails.

Excepting the funeral coats, the Koryak nowadays cut all their coats evenly all round, even those used in dancing and those worn by shamans.

301 777 Ornaments, Hair-Dressing, and Tattooing. — I shall speak later on of the ornamentation of dress.[5] Here I shall only say a few words on personal adornment. In Part I (pp. 45, 46) I have already spoken of charm bracelets, necklaces, pendants for the hair, and the tattooing of the face and other parts of the body, all of which play the part of "protectors." These charmed objects differ nearly always from ordinary ornaments, which have no connection with magic in their lack of beauty or symmetry. Thus straps made of skin and hair serve as amulets, which are worn on the arms, feet, and neck. The brass and beaded bracelets and ear-rings[6] are much better executed than the corresponding charms. Hair-ornaments worn by women (Fig. 129) may be readily distinguished by their beauty, from the beads, straps, or tufts of reindeer, hare, or wolf hair, which are braided in with the hair of the head as charms against headache. Nearly all Koryak women wear the head-dress shown in Fig. 129 (see also Plate XXXVI), which consists of a beaded string with two large metal buttons at the ends, and a leather strap with pendants behind. Sometimes the back part of the string consists of a metal chain without leather foundation.

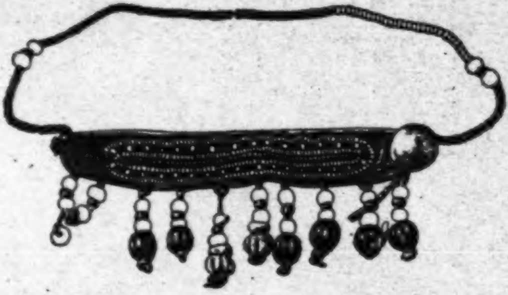


Fig. 129. Woman's Hair-Ornament.

---

[1] Nelson, p. 34.

[2] Parry, II, p. 495.

[3] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 50.

[4] Turner, Fig. 51, p. 211.

[5] See Chapter XI.

[6] See Chapter X.

302 The Koryak women part the hair in the middle from the forehead down to the neck, and braid it behind in two braids, so that each braid begins quite close to the ear. The back of the head is thus left free for the [171] ornamented leather strip, which extends nearly from one ear to the other. This style of dressing the hair is found also among the women of the Eskimo, Chukchee, and the tundra Yukaghir. Even nowadays stone pendants are often attached to the ends of the braids.[1] At present the ends of the braids are usually tied with a thong or sinew-thread on which beads are strung. The braids tied in this way rest on the chest or back, oftener on the chest.

The men cut or shave the hair with a sharp knife in the middle of the head, forming a round tonsure like that of a Catholic priest, leaving all around a thick ring of short hair; so that the forehead is free, and the hair is removed from the nape of the neck and the region about and under the ears. The ring of hair is often supported by a small thong. The Koryak tie their hair with this thong when fighting, running races, tending the flock, or working.

304 Tattooing for the sake of ornament has nearly gone out of use. I have spoken before of tattooing as a protective device.[2] Ornamental tattooing is practised by women only, but I have seen very few tattooed women; all were married. Two of them were childless, so that the tattooing may have been done as a cure for barrenness. That in former times tattooing among women was widespread, may be concluded from several myths. Thus it is related[3] how River-Man, on turning into a woman, had his face tattooed to please Illa'. Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff mentions that the Kamchadal practised tattooing; both state[4] that the Kamchadal painted their faces red and white. Ornamental tattooing is called by the Koryak lö-kele; i. e., "painting of the face." Perhaps this appellation applies as well to painting the face with colors, a custom no longer met with. Allusions to this custom are found in mythology: for instance, it is told that Big-Raven's elder son painted [171] his own belly.[5] Judging from Nordquist's and Bogoras's descriptions, Chukchee tattooing is more complex than that of the Koryak. The tattooing of Koryak women, which I had occasion to see, consisted of two or three horizontal lines over the nose, or of two or three equidistant curves on the chin and cheeks. The Koryak, and the other tribes of eastern Siberia that practise tattooing, do not apply the designs by pricking, but by passing under the skin a needle and thread which is coated with coal mixed with grease. Hence the Gishiga Russians call the Koryak tattooing "face-embroidery." I learned from one Koryak that in olden times the method of pricking and rubbing greasy black paint into the holes was also practised.

293 Snow-Goggles Snow-Shoes, Staffs, and Ice-Creepers. — Like all other Arctic tribes, the Koryak use snow-goggles to protect the eyes from the

---

[1] See Fig. 138, p. 610.

[2] See Part I, p. 46.

[3] Ibid., p. 304.

[4] Steller, p. 300; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 68.

[5] See Part I, pp. 166, 177.

482 loops of straps that are tied to the bag or other burden (Plate XXXV, Fig. 1). In carrying burdens, the yoke or cross-bar is placed over the chest, the straps rest on the fore arms, while the load rests on the small of the back. This is a clumsy method of carrying burdens. The yoke presses against the chest, the straps hinder the motions of the arms, and the burden lies too low on the back. To prevent the yoke from slipping down in walking, it is fastened by means of a thong to the neck or coat-colla.

482 171 While the method used by the men, of carrying loads by means of chest-yokes, is found also among the Eskimo,[1] the method employed by the Koryak

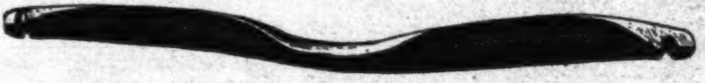


Fig. 131 ([illegible]). Man's Chest-Yoke. Length, 53 cm.

women is met with among many Indian tribes.[2] The carrying-strap is depicted on codices and monuments of ancient Mexico.[3] It is in use among the Ainu. Among the ancient Kamchadal, only the women used the head-band, while the men used the breast-yoke like the Koryak.[4] The Koryak women put burdens, and also their children, into grass, nettle, or skin bags, which they hold on the back, and carry them by means of a head-band passing across the forehead. Plate XXXVI shows how women carry children on their [281] backs, in a bag or without one, by means of head-bands. The head-band or carrying-strap is made of stout thong-seal hide. Fig. 132 shows the strap

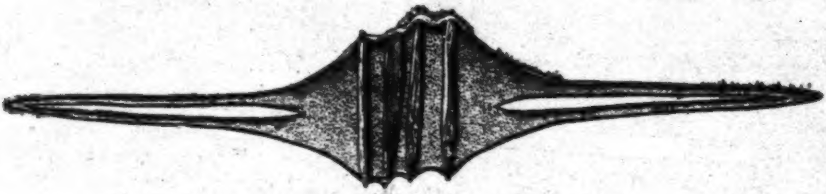


Fig. 132 ([illegible]). Woman's Carrying-Strap. Length, 108 cm.

stretched out. The small sticks in the middle are inserted to stretch the skin and make it thinner. The ends of the strap are cut out and provided with slits through which to pass the straps of bags and of wooden or skin buckets, for tying (see Plate XXXV, Fig. 2; and Plate XXXVI; also Fig. 160, *a*).

---

[1] See Nelson, p. 211; and Mason, The Human Beast of Burden, Fig. 2, p. 256.

[2] See Mason, The Human Beast of Burden, pp. 262, 263, 265, 268, 273, 277, 282.

[3] See Morse, Was Middle America peopled from Asia? (Popular Science Monthly, November, 1898, p. 5).

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 24.

325
171

Among the tools used by the Koryak blacksmiths, our attention is claimed first of all by the bellows. The Koryak blacksmiths use single bellows, made of seal-skin, with two planked lids, — one above, and one below. Such bellows we find also among the Chukchee blacksmiths, who are less skilful than the Koryak. The Koryak bellows differ from the bellows represented in Bogoras's work,[1] in that to the upper board a wooden handle is fastened, by means of which the blacksmith's assistant moves it.

Bogoras assumes that the Chukchee bellows were adopted from the Russians. If the information we have concerning the Tungus bellows is exact, then the Koryak, and through them possibly the Chukchee as well, in the pre-Russian or even in the Russian period, could have adopted the single bellows from the Tungus.

The bellows used by the blacksmiths of the majority of East Siberian tribes are double. They consist of two small oblong skin bags lying on the ground, so that the blacksmith's assistant is able to sit between them. Two pipes (of wood or metal) running from the bags unite to form one iron mouth which leads into the furnace. The furnace is usually simply a small hole in the ground, into which charcoal is piled. To make the double bellows stationary, they are fastened to the ground by means of the boards forming the bottom of the bags, and the pipes with their joint mouth are covered with clay. In other localities, soil or some other weight is placed on the pipes to hold them down, while the leather bags lie on the ground. Among the Maritime tribes, the blacksmith's bellows are made of soft seal-skin; among the reindeer-breeders, of dressed reindeer-skin; and among cattle-breeding tribes, of calf or cow hide. In each bag of the double bellows there is a short slit, to the edges of which small sticks are sewed the whole length down. When these sticks are brought together with the hand, the bag is hermetically closed. The blacksmith's assistant, sitting on the floor between the leather bags, alternately raises and opens with his fingers the one bag, and simultaneously closes and lowers the other bag. Work with such bellows is rather hard, as both hands are required and practice is necessary. Usually the work is done by some youth or by a woman. Occasionally I saw such double bellows used among the Tungus in the Yakut district, among the Yakut,[2] and also by Yukaghir blacksmiths, who had evidently adopted it from the Yakut.

Judging by Pallas's drawings, the bellows of Mongolian blacksmiths of

---

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 136, p. 215.

[2] I had no occasion to visit the mining regions of the Yakut personally and to see what bellows are used by the Yakut who are engaged in smelting iron-ore. In describing the process of smelting by the Yakut of the Yakut district, Sieroszewski (The Yakut, pp. 381, 382) does not dwell specially on the shape of the bellows used with the Yakut smelting-furnace. But Maak (see The Vilyuisk District of the Yakut Province, Part III, p. 181, St. Petersburg, 1887), in describing the method of iron-smelting employed by the Vilyuisk Yakut, says that they use double bellows in this process. "However," Maak adds, "with many blacksmiths even in my time (1854) such primitive bellows were supplanted by genuine bellows." Unfortunately, Maak does not state what he means by "genuine bellows."

325 171 the eighteenth century were also double.[1] The Gilyak and Ainu blacksmiths, too, use double bellows[2] as described above, a fact in which Schrenck finds proof that both tribes had borrowed the blacksmith's art from one source, — the Japanese. As for the Tungus, to judge by statements made by Georgi,[3] their blacksmiths used simple bellows. Schrenck and Maak give the same information concerning the Gold.[4] Schrenck, by the way, draws from this circumstance the conclusion that the Gold and the Gilyak had acquired the blacksmith's art from different sources, — the former from the Manchu-Chinese, the latter from Japan.

We see that between the Siberian peoples using double bellows, — i. e., between the Mongol-Turks and Ainu-Gilyak, — there live Tungus tribes that employ or formerly employed simple bellows. It seems uncertain whether the invention of the Asiatic double bellows belongs to any single people, the more so, as double bellows are met with not only in India and Malaysia, but even among the primitive blacksmiths of Africa. The group exhibited in the Paris Ethnographic Museum in the Trocadéro, and representing a negro blacksmith with his assistant sitting between two leather bellows, vividly recalled to me the Yakut blacksmith.[5] Still it must be said that the small double bellows of the Siberian blacksmith, consisting only of two bags, must have been invented by a nomadic tribe. Two small skin bags, with a small anvil and a pair of hammers and tongs, are easy to adjust anywhere, and not difficult to carry from place to place. The Yakut blacksmith has remained until our time to a considerable degree an itinerant artisan. Usually the customer does not come to him, but he goes with his smithy to the wealthy Yakut to fill his orders. The principle of the double bellows, designed to force an uninterrupted current of air into the furnace, is doubtless superior to that of the single bellows. On this principle are built the modern factory bellows, which are operated by automatic communicators. It must be supposed that among the more primitive blacksmiths, too, the double bellows, if not borrowed from another tribe along with blacksmithing, are not of the oldest type.

The inconvenience of the double bellows above described consists in the necessity of having assistance in all work, as it is inconvenient for the smith now to occupy a position between the leather bags and then to jump out to the furnace and anvil, especially if the sluggishness of movement of the primitive blacksmith and the lack of concentration upon his labor are taken into consideration. Our common village blacksmith, in making small articles such as the primitive blacksmiths produce, manages without an assistant. Standing near the furnace, he pulls the rope of the bellows, and, when the iron has become red-hot, he takes it from the furnace and turns around to the anvil. 325 171

---

[1] See P. S. Pallas, Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften, I, Plate V.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 255.

[3] Georgi, Part III, p. 45.

[4] See Schrenck, II, p. 254; and Maak, Journey to the Amur, St. Petersburg, 1859, pp. 175 and 207. I did not happen to see modern bellows of the Tungus nearest to the Koryak; but the Tungus of the Yakut Province, i. e., neighbors of the Yakut, at present use, as I stated above, the double bellows, evidently adopted from the Yakut.

[5] The ancient Egyptians already employed double bellows. Judging by ancient drawings, they consisted of two vessels covered with skin. A slave stepped in turn with his feet, now on one and then on the other leather lid of the vessel, and at the same time opened the aperture in the other vessel. Andree (Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern, p. 4) supposes that from the Egyptians the double bellows spread all over Africa.

To turn again to the Koryak blacksmith. The single bellows are used lying on the ground; and the furnace, too, like that of the Yakut blacksmith, is built in the ground. He needs an assistant, who, sitting down flat, raises and lowers the bellows by means of a handle.[1] A Koryak smithy is less mobile than a Yakut one. The chief blacksmiths (one, Čᴇqu'l by name, in the village of Kuel; and the other, Kıya'učñın by name, in the Paren settlement) have built special smithies separate from the living-apartments. They are small log-cabins of about the height of a man. A large window cut in the wall, and left completely open, serves as an entrance. In the ceiling, the logs of which are covered with earth, a square hole is cut out in the middle, which lies above the furnace. A small anvil is placed on a low block quite near the furnace, and the blacksmith sits[2] by the anvil on a low stool. The Koryak blacksmith's tools are not numerous. They consist of two or three hammers and forge-tongs of two or three sizes. The tools nowadays are bought of Russian merchants; but along with the Russian, Chinese hammers, brought from Vladivostok, are also met with. The geological hammers brought by me from America met with complete approval on the part of Koryak blacksmiths. The bellows of the chief Koryak blacksmith are of rather large size. They give an intermittent but strong current of air, nevertheless thick pig-iron is but poorly heated in the furnace. Koryak blacksmiths prefer to work in bar or thin block iron. Besides, they are unfamiliar with the art of working with two hammers. They know quite well how to weld iron; but only the best artisans, such as the blacksmiths mentioned above, succeed in obliterating all traces of welding. They are not acquainted with the art of tempering; and iron arms or knives made by them are distinguished by their flexibility, but the blades of good spears and knives have a thin steel plate welded to the iron. Thin steel blocks bought for this purpose are purchased by the blacksmiths from merchants or from the Government depot. The steel loses a considerable degree of its hardness in the furnace, but the finished blade of the knife or axe is still hard enough. The stock of coal for the furnace is usually made by the 325 same may be said of the metal bracelets. I have already described iron bracelets. Two made of brass are represented in Fig. 149, *a* and *b*. 326

---

[1] From Maak's description of a Gold blacksmith, it appears, however (Journey to the Amur, p. 207 and Plate II), that he did manage to get along with his single bellows without an assistant.

[2] The Yakut and Tungus blacksmiths, too, work sitting. The same is stated by Andree (Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern, p. 80) concerning gipsy blacksmiths. This is probably explained by the fact that the furnace of these blacksmiths is on the ground, and the anvil must therefore be not much above the ground.

The jew's-harp shown in Fig. 149, *c*, is made of brass. Usually this instrument is made of bone. The needle-case (Fig. 149, *d*) is made of two gun-cartridges, and has brass and iron pendants. 301 [534]

The copper of worn-out teapots is used by the Koryak for patching and riveting damaged copper vessels. Spears and large knives are inlaid with copper and partly with brass. First the designs, representing chevron ornaments and various kinds of curves, are incised with a steel chisel. Then copper shavings are driven in with a hammer, and the weapons are smoothed off with a file.[1] 326 531

Silver-work, smelting, or cold-hammering are unknown to the Koryak; though the blacksmiths of the Tungus and Yakut, the tribes nearest to them, work also in silver. The Tungus work is done cold only, while the Yakut have attained a high degree of proficiency as silversmiths. With a hammer they beat out various ornaments and other objects from pieces of silver; smelt silver in crucibles of their own manufacture, made of fire-proof clay, and then pour the smelted metal into moulds; make alloys of silver with other metals; engrave the most complicated designs on silver ornaments; and enamel silver after the style of the Circassians. The material for this work is supplied mainly by old silver objects and silver coins.[2] 325 171

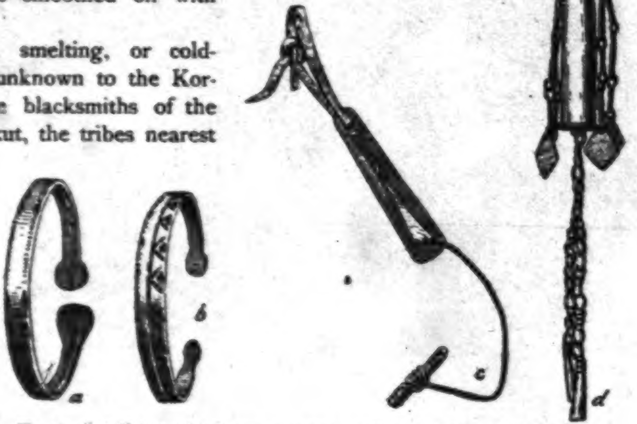


Fig. 149, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), Brass Bracelets; *c* ([illegible]), Jew's-Harp made of Brass; *d* ([illegible]), Needle-Case made of a Cartridge.

Tungus smiths hammer silver coins into small ornaments, such as ear-rings, rings, buttons, buckles, or little thin disks for breast-ornaments, and polish these with a file and soft leather made of reindeer-skin. The Tungus buy larger and more ornamental silver objects, such as belts, pendants for coats, and ornaments for hair-dressing, from the Yakut.

---

[1] For ornamentation on knives and arms, see Figs. 142, 143, 189, 193, 195.

[2] In the Yakut Province, stories are in circulation that certain Yakut silversmiths reduce silver from ore, but carefully conceal the location of the mines. I could not verify the truth of these tales.

discovering the location of the fireside. I really did find charred logs, coals, stones forming the hearth, potsherds, and remains of tools. Let us now consider the potsherds. 172

All the potsherds found by me are made of coarse clay, containing fine gravel and pieces of quartz. They are quite thin (4–12 mm.), so that their manufacture has little in common with that of the thick and clumsy clay lamps and unbaked quadrangular kettles of the modern Chukchee and Asiatic Eskimo described by Bogoras.[1] The potsherds found in the excavations are black with soot and fat, and were evidently well baked, as they remained strong and hard, although they had been lying in the wet soil. 172 323

The Koryak themselves well know that the potsherds now found are remnants of the clay vessels in which their near ancestors used to cook their food. The Koryak call a clay pot săku'keña, i. e., "clay kettle" (from să, "earth and clay;" and kukeña, "kettle or pot"). Iron kettles are called by them polounto-kukeña.

In a myth[2] it is related how Yiñea-ñeut, when a child, was deserted by her father Big-Raven in an underground house. There she grew up alone, caught birds, and cooked them in the clay pot she found behind the fireplace. The mentioning of pottery in mythology shows that the Koryak themselves assign to pottery an ancient origin.

A fairly accurate idea of the size and form of the whole pots may be gained from the fragments. The restoration of a pot is shown in Fig. 165, *a*. Its mouth has a diameter of about 21 cm., and its height must have been approximately 24 cm., while the walls are 4–8 mm. thick. The pot is moulded with the hand, and the outside bears all over it the impressions of close-woven twined basketry, such as is shown in Fig. 161. Evidently this impression was made by taking a piece of twined fabric in one hand, and pressing it against the moist pot, the twined woof being placed so that the lines run at right angles to the rim. In some fragments of pots the impress of this woven fabric is very distinct. Another fragment in the collection indicates that the pot of which it once formed a part must have had a still larger diameter. The piece is too small to reconstruct the exact form of the pot, but it would seem that the pot was not less than 30 cm. wide at the mouth. All the pots are covered with a heavy layer of soot. A thick potsherd showing a decorated rim is shown in Fig. 165, *b*.

The unquestionable existence of pottery among the Koryak in the recent past presents great interest, in view of the fact that the former existence of pottery among other so-called palæ-Asiatic peoples has been disputed by many writers. 171 323

Let us consider, first of all, the Kamchadal, a neighboring tribe kindred to

---

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 102—104, pp. 185, 186.

[2] See Part I, p. 306, No. 114.

[3] See Steller, p. 322; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 45.

171 32 the Koryak. True, Steller and Krasheninnikoff[*] visited them after they had been considerably influenced by Russian culture; but, in speaking of the ancient Kamchadal method of cooking food, they mention only boiling in wooden troughs by means of red-hot stones, and there is nowhere in the writings of these authors a reference to clay vessels. Schrenck considers the absence of pottery among the Kamchadal as proved.[1]

171 252 I have found accounts which stated that the Koryak also used red-hot stones for boiling. However, in these statements I do not see any contradiction to the fact that there are traces of the existence of pottery among them. The latter, to my mind, seems a later invention than boiling by means of red-hot stones; but, even after the invention of pottery, cooking by means of red-hot stones might have continued.

171 174 323 But as iron kettles were acquired, the manufacture of clay pots probably disappeared earlier than the custom of boiling with stones in troughs, as may have been the case with the Kamchadal. Witsen[2] states, based on information given by Cossacks, that the Kamchadal used to make clay vessels. In an old underground Kamchadal dwelling, Dittmar found "small clay vessels" of most primitive workmanship. "The clay crumbled under the hands, it had evidently been badly (if at all) baked," says Dittmar. As the pots were saturated with blubber, Dittmar thinks it possible that they had been lamps, and not cooking-pots;[3] but this opinion may be offset by the shape and size, especially the depth, of the pots found.[4] Besides, in another passage, Dittmar quotes the tale of an old Kamchadal who brought to him the stone implements that he had dug out

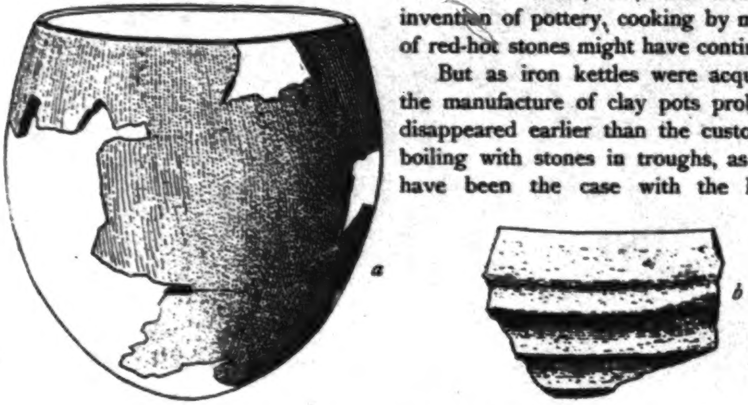


Fig. 165, *a* ([illegible]), Pottery Vessel; *b* ([illegible]), Rim of Pottery Vessel.

---

[1] Schrenck, II, p. 140.

[2] See Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 673.

[3] See Dittmar, p. 213.

[4] Dittmar gives the following measurements of the pots: upper diameter, 12 cm.; lower, 10 cm.; maximum width, 14 cm.; depth, 10 cm. This vessel, therefore, had an aperture smaller in diameter than the middle part, and its bottom was still smaller than the aperture. Clay lamps are of different shape (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 102, 103, pp. 185, 186; Nelson, Plate XXVIII). Nelson gives 2¾ inches (i. e., less than 7 cm.) as the depth of two lamps (Nelson, p. 64). The Koryak stone lamps (see p. 566) are 4-6 cm. deep.

● 171 of ancient underground houses, and who said that potsherds of coarse clay
174 vessels are often found among other objects in excavating ancient underground
323 dwellings on the eastern coast of Kamchatka.[1]

Lastly, the Gishiga Cossacks, who often visit Kamchatka on duty, told me personally that they came across the same kind of sherds of clay pots as I found in the ruins of ancient Koryak houses.

At present neither the Gilyak and Ainu, nor the Kamchadal and Koryak, make clay pots. Schrenck expresses the opinion that even in antiquity this art was unknown to the Gilyak and Ainu.[2] Concerning the statement of the Japanese traveller, Mamia Rinso, that the Gilyak on Saghalin manufactured clay ware resembling that of the Chinese and Japanese, Schrenck supposes that this art was introduced by the Chinese and Japanese at a quite recent date, and has been lost again. On the other hand, Schrenck finds that the potsherds collected by Pfeiffer, Lopatin, and Polyakoff in various parts of the Amur region and in Saghalin, samples of which were in his hands, were so old as to have no ethnological connection whatever with the tribes inhabiting the region at the present time.[3]

114 Leo Sternberg, the latest student of the Gilyak tribe, in his brief pre-
174 liminary sketch of the Gilyak, published in the "Ethnographical Review,"[4] ex-
presses an opinion concerning the ancient Gilyak pottery identical with that
323 of Schrenck. In his opinion, the Gilyak were not familiar with pottery. Further on, I shall briefly touch upon his arguments. The Gilyak themselves call the remains of the ancient underground dwellings on Saghalin Island, where the potsherds were found, kugi-tulkč, which means "Ainu little pits;" i. e., the Gilyak attribute them to the Ainu. Following the course of his arguments, Sternberg further supposes that these little pits did not belong to the ancestors of the present Ainu either, for the Saghalin Ainu themselves attribute them to another people by the name of Tonchi.[5]

Here I reach a question interesting in the highest degree, — the question, Who were the ancient inhabitants of Japan and of the underground dwellings in Yezo and other places, — the Ainu, or another pre-Ainu people? This question divides Japanese and other investigators into two camps. Of the Japanese scholars, Professor Koganei especially, espouses the former view; Professor Tsuboi, the latter. Concerning Saghalin, my friend Dr. Sternberg apparently seems to side with Tsuboi; while Dr. Laufer, a member of our

---

[1] See Dittmar, p. 189.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 139. Schrenck, by the way, expresses the opinion that pottery was unknown to any of the so-called palæ-Asiatic peoples, with the exception of the Eskimo. He supposes that the Eskimo came to America from Asia, and classes them among the palæ-Asiatics; but this opinion, as we see, is utterly refuted by the facts.

[3] See Schrenck, II, p. 141.

[4] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, published by the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography, Moscow, 1904, Parts 1, 2, 3).

[5] Ethnographical Review, 1904, I, p. 5.

114 expedition, expresses views in harmony with Professor Koganei's.[1] Of the
174 recent works devoted to this question, one of especial interest is Professor
323 Koganei's excellent article, "Ueber die Urbewohner Japans."[2]

I can touch upon this question only so far as it bears upon pottery.
323 On the one hand, remnants of primitive pottery have been discovered on
the Chukchee Peninsula, in Baron Korff's Bay,[3] in Kamchatka, on the coasts
● 171 of the Okhotsk Sea and its bays, on the Kurilian Islands, at the mouth of
174 the Amur, on the islands Saghalin and Yezo; on the other hand, the Eskimo
of northwestern America even now make clay pots, and have left traces of
this art which existed among them in the past.[4]

Whether pottery was known to the Aleut, we do not know as yet. Veniaminoff says that the clay vessels he saw among the Aleut had been obtained by them from the Russians.[5] In the description of the articles found by Dall[6] in the grave caves of the Aleut, we find no remains of clay vessels; but until archæological investigations have been undertaken in the Aleutian Islands, it cannot be asserted that pottery was unknown to the Aleut. Judging by the results of our expedition, the Indians of the North Pacific coast never had pottery.[7]

Territorially speaking, we have thus found, so far, that pottery in its primitive stage was widespread on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the islands of Japan around almost to the coast strip of southern Alaska.

---

[1] See Berthold Laufer, Die Angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1900, Band V, Heft 6).

[2] Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokio, 1903, IX, pp. 297–330.

[3] Bogoras (The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 186) says that certain potsherds found by him in the ancient "jaw-bone houses" are thinner than the above-mentioned clay lamps and kettles, and point to another type of clay pots in the past.

[4] Thus we have Baron Wrangell's statements of the beginnings of the nineteenth century, that the Eskimo in Alaska made pots (Wrangell, Statist. und ethnog. Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika, St. Petersburg, 1839, p. 147); Dall's information concerning the seventies of the last century (Dall, Alaska and its Resources, London, 1870, p. 218) and the present-day information of Nelson (Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 201, 202). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak, we possess the following information, dating from the beginning of the last century: "From clay they make fire-pots, in which they melt whale fat. Formerly they could also bake pots, but now this art is lost, possibly for the reason that they found our kettles more convenient" (see Voyages to America of the Naval Officers, Khvostoff and Davydoff, St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 104). Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 305) states that the Konyag of Kadyak cooked meat in clay pots. At the end of the last century Murdoch found on Point Barrow fragments of pottery which, according to him, existed earlier than iron kettles (Murdoch, pp. 91, 92). G. B. Gordon, in his Notes on the Western Eskimo (Transactions of the Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part I, p. 83), based on data collected by the expedition sent to Alaska in the summer of 1905 by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, states that at present the art of pottery has died out among the western Eskimo, but the older people still remember the time when lamps and cooking-vessels were made of clay. Plates XXIII and XXIV of the same paper show different types of clay vessels of the western Eskimo.

[5] Veniaminoff, Notes on the Unalashka District, Part II, p. 239.

[6] Dall, On the Remains of Prehistoric Man obtained from Caves in the Catherine Archipelago, Alaska Territory and especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1878, Vol. XXII).

[7] This conclusion is based on the results of the excavations made by Mr. Smith at the mouth of the Fraser River, in the southern part of Vancouver Island, and on the coast of Washington; but it would be very important to extend the archæologic investigations also to other parts of the coast-line between the Alaskan Eskimo and Columbia River and the interior Athapascans, in order to draw a final conclusion.

As to the question what tribes have left remains of this art, there is still 323
disagreement in the majority of cases. That the clay pots, of which potsherds 171
have been found by me in Koryak territory, were made by the recent ancestors of the Koryak, there can be no doubt. The same may be said in 174
regard to the Alaskan Eskimo, but here is involved the question of their original gradual distribution. So far as mythology is concerned, I have accepted Professor Boas's theory that the Eskimo came to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the east.[1] In questions of somatology we have some data pointing to the change of the physical type of the Eskimo from the east westward, as we approach nearer and nearer to the Pacific Ocean.[2]

The central and eastern Eskimo had lamps of soapstone, but we find no indication that they now can or formerly could make clay pots. If we consider as correct the theory that the Alaskan Eskimo came from the east, and that their physical nature and their traditions have changed in the new locality under the influence of the Indians, then they may have adopted the art of making pottery, too, after their arrival on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, from the former aborigines, as their eastern fellow-tribesmen evidently did not know this art.[3] I should remark that I bring forward these considerations only as an attempt at solving the question concerning the primitive culture of the Asiatic-American tribes.

Regarding the Ainu, it is impossible, it seems to me, not to agree with 114
the considerations of Koganei, that the pits on Yezo, Saghalin, and the 174
Kurilian Islands, which contain the potsherds now holding our interest, are
remnants of the dwellings of the ancestors of the modern Ainu. For the 323
Gilyak, we must for the present accept the opinion of Sternberg, — the best authority on this tribe, — who argues that the Gilyak are new-comers on Saghalin Island and at the mouth of the Amur, and suggests that they may have been neighbors of the Aleut.[4] Still one cannot help remarking that Sternberg's chief arguments offered as proof that the clay potsherds from the "little pits" on Saghalin belong to neither the ancestors of the Gilyak nor to the ancient Ainu,[5] are identical with the arguments of Tsuboi concerning the last-mentioned tribe alone.[6] These arguments consist in the following. In the myths there are no allusions whatever to the former use of pottery by the Gilyak or Ainu; on the contrary, the traditions of both tribes attribute this art to other tribes, the Gilyak attributing it to the Ainu. The Ainu of

---

[1] See Part I, p. 359.

[2] See Dina Jochelson-Brodsky, Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker (Doctor's Dissertation of the University of Zürich)], Braunschweig, 1906.

[3] Unfortunately, no archæological researches have been made in the territory of the northern Athapascan and Tlingit.

[4] If this supposition should prove correct, the finding of remains of pottery on the Aleutian territory would be of importance.

[5] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, I, p. 3).

[6] See Koganei, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 308, 309.

321 northern regions of the Chukchee territory, — in the tundra along the shores and on the islands of the Arctic Ocean.

The shoulder-blades and vertebræ of the whale are also used for carving. Not being hard, this bone is well adapted for the purpose; but the coarseness of its grain and its dirty-gray color give to the articles made from it an unattractive appearance.

The antlers of reindeer and the horns of mountain-sheep also furnish good material for carving. They are inferior in fineness of grain to ivory. They are sufficiently smooth, and consist of a uniformly hard and tough but not fibrous mass, so that they can be carved and rubbed in all directions. Before being worked, they also are softened in boiling water. Owing to their dark color, however, they do not furnish a material satisfactory to the æsthetic taste of the primitive sculptor, and are used only in the absence of the white walrus or mammoth ivory.

171 321 Miniature toy figures of human beings, birds, and other animals, or spoons ornamented with different figures, are frequently made from reindeer-antler and sheep-horn. It is worth noting, that, according to Hoffman, quite a number of specimens of Eskimo workmanship, upon which both simple forms of ornamentation and pictographic records occur, consist of pieces of reindeer-antler shaped into the desired form, and obtained from the barren-ground or woodland caribou; but no specimens of horn of the mountain-sheep or mountain-goat, which are employed by the more southern Coast tribes, have as yet been found in the Eskimo collections of either the United States National Museum or the Alaska Commercial Company in San Francisco, Cal.[1] Nor are any cases on record of sculptural carvings of animals made of reindeer-antler by Eskimo. Carvings in musk-ox horn are known, however, from the Eskimo tribes of the west coast of Hudson Bay.

322 Wood as material for carving is employed principally by the Koryak of Penshina Bay, since they do not hunt walrus; but along the shores of Bering Sea, wood-carvings are seldom found, owing to the absence of wood in that region. Nor do we find many small wood-carvings of animals among the Eskimo. The Koryak employ for carving all kinds of wood found in their territory, such as larch, poplar, alder, birch, and stone-pine. As a rule, wood, owing to its fibrous quality and the lack of uniform density in its different layers, cannot be considered good material for sculptural work; and the impracticability of its use is further increased by the primitive instruments employed. The most suitable material, on account of its density, is furnished by the birch-tree and by the roots of the stone-pine; but the latter are so hard that they can be worked only with great difficulty by means of the knife.

324 Stone is not used by the Koryak as a material for sculptural purposes.

---

[1] See Hoffman, p. 777.

324 This may probably be explained by the fact that the Koryak practised the art of polishing stone very little. As is well known, but few traces of the working of stone for artistic purposes have been found in palæolithic stations of Europe. Among the Eskimo carvings in the National Museum at Washington, we find some specimens of animal figures made from soapstone and flint.[1]

Nor do the Koryak use clay for moulding figures, and we do not know
323 if they ever used it for that purpose. In the excavations of ancient dwellings
532 of the Maritime Koryak, mentioned before, I found traces of their former art in pottery which disappeared with the introduction of metallic utensils; but no remains of clay toys have been found.[2]

There is no doubt that among the works of art of North America, the Eskimo carvings of animals resemble those of the Koryak most closely. The Eskimo, the Koryak, the Kerek, and the Chukchee are the only primitive tribes among whom miniature sculpture has been so strongly developed.[3]

517 All the tribes mentioned here use the same technical processes in carving.
Their carvings are realistic in character, are of small or even miniature size,
532 and to a great extent are made as much for the pleasure which the carvers
171 derive from their work as for the satisfaction of the æsthetic tastes of the people. The difference between the Eskimo and Koryak carvings is, that the latter are less available for practical application than the former, and are of greater artistic worth. In that regard the Chukchee carvings resemble more closely those of the Eskimo, judging from the collection furnished by our Expedition and from the collection of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.[4] Even the Kerek carvings are inferior to those of the Koryak in their finishing touches. The Chukchee and the Kerek carvings still further resemble those of the Eskimo, in that they are more frequently decorated with engravings, consisting chiefly of dots and lines, than those of the Koryak.

532 The plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast, in so far as it
171 is expressed in carving, is entirely different from that of the Koryak and

---

[1] See Murdoch, pp. 398, 399.

[2] Nelson obtained on the Lower Yukon, where the art of pottery was formerly developed, a pair of rudely modelled clay dolls (see Nelson, Fig. 126 on p. 342, and p. 343). In the excavations of the ancient Ainu underground dwellings were found, among the remnants of pottery, clay figures of men. Some figures collected by Professor E. Baelz are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin (see p. 645). It is possible that the Koryak made figures of unbaked clay, and that therefore no trace is left of them, as articles made of unbaked clay crumble in the moist ground. The avidity with which the Koryak seize upon every material fit for sculpture may be judged from the fact that their children, as soon as they convinced themselves that the plaster I used could be cut with the knife, started to make toy dishes and animal figures from the pieces which fell on the ground while I was making my masks. Before trying the use of the knife, however, they touched the plaster with their tongues, to see if they could make more palatable use of it.

[3] Among European nations, the Swiss are known for their miniature sculpture from wood and ivory. Really artistic articles may be found quite frequently among the Swiss products; but as a rule, their figures of animals, notwithstanding the careful and detailed finish, produce a less vivid impression than some of the crude figures of the Koryak, in which the most characteristic posture of the animal is brought out.

[4] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XX, XXI.

Chukchee. Although some samples of Indian art among the collections of 532
the Amerian Museum of Natural History are proof of the ability of Indian 171
artists to give their carvings quite a realistic and artistic expression of animal forms,[1] yet the general tendency of the Indian art of carving is purely symbolic, aiming principally at bringing out the most characteristic parts of the body of the animal at the expense of its other parts, and of a realistic presentation of the animal as a whole.

The carvings of the western neighbors of the Koryak, the Tungus and the Yakut, can in no wise be compared with their own. The former lack all artistic merit. Taking as a fair sample the collection of Yakut carvings obtained by me, consisting of figures of animals or human beings made from mammoth-tusks, we find it to consist of rigid figures having only an outward resemblance to men and animals. The artist was unable to put life and motion into them. It is seldom that any of the Yakut can carve even such crude figures. Near Yakutsk, for instance, two or three Yakut are known to turn out open-work from mammoth-ivory. They also turn out rigid realistic carvings of the kind I am describing. They make combs and boxes from mammoth-ivory, ornamented with open-work carving. Yet these articles are rather products of mechanical art, made to meet the demand of the Russians, than works of art for art's sake.

The art of the Yakut, principally their decorative art, is of purely Central Asiatic, Chinese, or Russian origin, and consists of curves, spirals, and conventionalized animals and plants. Only the enormous wooden kumiss goblets and cups, from which the Yakut drink, and make sacrificial libations during the religious kumiss festivals, are supplied with primitive technical ornamentation, judging by the Yakut names of the carved figures.[2]

When we speak of Koryak or Chukchee carvings, it should be added 184
that we refer to the Maritime people only. The Reindeer Koryak, with very 532
few exceptions, have not developed that art. This is not due to the fact that the reindeer-breeders have no æsthetic tastes, but to their lack of the necessary leisure. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, spend the winter almost idly in a more or less warm house, and have sufficient time to indulge in the pleasure derived from the art of carving. The same reason may be advanced to explain why only the men engage in carving: the women are too busy with the household, and apply their æsthetic taste to the ornamentation of their dresses.

It is worth noting, that, among the Koryak carvings, we seldom find 532
figures of reindeer, and the few we do find are poorly executed. The con- 174
clusion might be drawn from this, that fondness for carving developed among

---

[1] See Boas, Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., IX, p. 125).

[2] See Jochelson, Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut and the Decoration of Kumiss Vessels (Boas Anniversary Volume, New-York, Stechert, 1906, pp. 257–271).

mentation represents a sledge with a team of eight dogs. Apparently the whole handle represents at the same time a bear, the point being the snout, the ears being indicated just under the sledge, and the two prominences on the lower side representing fore and hind feet. It resembles in form the bear figures used by the Eskimo in the cup-and-ball game.[1] The specimen shown in *c* is a pipe made of bone in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay), and very crudely ornamented with the carving of a human face. 412 532 [276]

The Koryak carvings of animals on household articles follow the rule 531 517 171

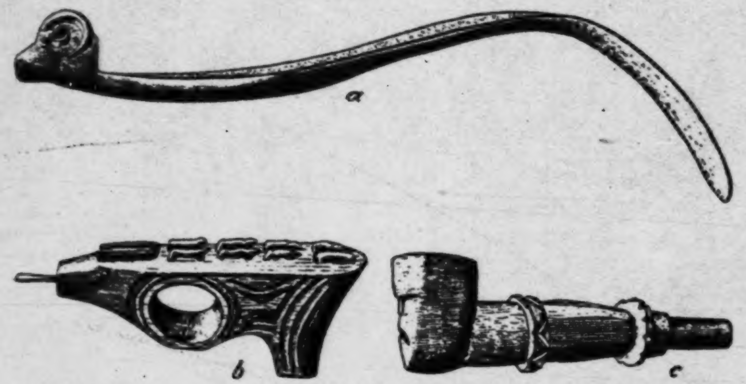


Fig. 185, *a* ([illegible]), Snow-Beater (length, 52 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Awl (length, 11 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Pipe (length, 12.5 cm.).

of modern ornamental carvings, — that of serving to embellish and brighten up the ornamented article without obscuring it. For that reason, ornamental carving may retain its realistic character of pure art. Among the Indians of the North Pacific coast we find a tendency to cover the entire article with an ornamental animal. It has been pointed out by Professor Boas[2] that this tendency has resulted in depriving carvings of their realism. Judging by some illustrations of objects in the work of Nelson,[3] this inclination prevails to a considerable extent also among the Alaskan Eskimo. Professor Boas ascribes this tendency of the Alaskan Eskimo to the influence of the art of the adjacent Indians. Perhaps a trace of this proneness to turn an ornamental animal into a real article, certainly its inception, is to be found among the Koryak and Eskimo of other localities, but in a most primitive form. Thus the wooden cup for the whale festival among the Koryak[4] represents that animal. In the Eskimo collections from Point Barrow we find a bone

---

[1] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 566.

[2] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

[3] See Nelson, Plates XLII, LXII, and Figs. 40, 59, pp 144, 200.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *h*, p. 72.

531 ladle, and boxes for harpoon-heads, in the form of whales;[1] and among the
● 171 Eskimo of Hudson Bay we find ivory needle-cases carved in the form of whales.[2]

531 I believe that the æsthetic taste is as strong and spontaneous a longing of primitive man as are beliefs. Whoever has lived among primitive
517 people knows well how strong is their passion for all kinds of ornaments.
778 In one of his stories from the life of the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras pictures a hunch-back shepherd gathering variegated pebbles, and spending his leisure time in laying them out in different combinations for his own pleasure.[3] Mr. Bogoras told me personally that the incident was drawn from real life. Undoubtedly there are cases when an article which first served as an amulet becomes, in the course of time, an ornament; but there are cases, on the other hand, when an article of art becomes an amulet later on. For that reason we must prove in each particular case the course of inter-action of the two psychological factors, — the religious and the æsthetic, — and this it is not always easy to settle. Taking, for instance, the wooden figure of the whale for the whale festival,[4] it is difficult to tell whether the whale-carving was first made from a mere desire on the part of the artist to imitate nature, or whether the necessities of the ritual furnished the impetus for carving the whale. Personally I am inclined to the former hypothesis. We find a similar phenomenon in the Eskimo custom of putting the carving of a whale into the mouth of a new-born male infant in order to make him a good hunter.[5]

In the Koryak carvings, and to a certain extent in those of the Eskimo, in so far as they are not adapted to practical wants, we have an excellent illustration of the spontaneous development of primitive art independent of religion. Those amulets which consist of wooden limbs or parts of animals, instead of the entire animal, cannot be classed with pure art, because they serve, not as expressions of real sense-impressions, but of vague ideas of anthropomorphism and the substitution of a part for a whole. This accounts for the crudeness of the images of Koryak idols, as pointed out by me before, which distinguishes them from carvings made for the pleasure of carving. Ornamental carving still retains in many cases the realism and the finesse of art for art's sake; such as, for instance, the mountain-sheep on the spoon illustrated in Fig. 184, *b*.

532 Less attention is paid to finish and realism in the carving of toys. A large number of objects in miniature carving, used as toys, are very poorly
524 executed. These objects can easily be recognized by the hole made in them, by means of which they can be strung on a thong. Children quite frequently

---

[1] See Murdoch, Fig. 45, p. 105; Fig. 251, p. 249.

[2] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 136, p. 93.

[3] Tan (nom-de-plume of Mr. Bogoras), Sketches and Stories, Vol. III, Chukchee Stories (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 120.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72.

See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 160; Nelson, p. 290.

532 senting a giant holding a whale[1] recalls a Chukchee ivory carving in the collection of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, representing a human figure with three pairs of white whales on its breast.[2] This figure corresponds with the Chukchee myth of a giant who once came from the American shores to the Chukchee coast, where he went to sleep, and remained asleep all winter, while the white whales came out on the shore and gnawed at his flesh.[3]

531 ENGRAVINGS. — We have seen that the realistic animal carvings of the
Koryak, like those of the Eskimo, are frequently ornamented by means of
171 incised designs consisting of plain dots, rings, or lines; but we do not find
any complex engravings of patterns or figures of pictographic character, such
as are found on the carvings of the Alaskan Eskimo.

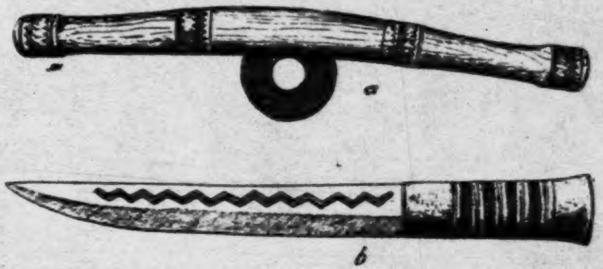


Fig. 189. *a* ([illegible]), Skin-Scraper with Ornamented Handle (length. 46 cm.); *b*, Knife with Incised Designs (length. 37.5 cm.).

In the collection of carvings in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, there are two bone pipes with engravings of diminutive figures of men and animals. These pipes were acquired among the Kerek, but had their origin among the insular Eskimo of Bering Sea.[4]

412 The tools and implements of the Koryak are mostly devoid of all
ornamental engravings. The few ornamental engravings which are found on
531 the tools and other household articles may be divided into the following
classes, — the simplest, or Eskimo-like; the pictographic, or engravings
resembling those of the northern Indians of the interior and the Alaskan
Eskimo; and the conventionalized, adopted from Asia. Figs. 189–191
represent specimens of the first group of ornamental engravings.

Fig. 189, *a*, represents an iron skin-scraper. Its wooden handle is ornamented with lines and zigzags. It was obtained in Paren.[5] Fig. 189, *b*,

---

[1] Murdoch, Fig. 415, p. 406.

[2] Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate xx, Fig. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 57.

[4] Ibid., Plate xxv, Figs. 8, 9.

[5] A similar ornamentation is found on the Eskimo bone knife and bone skin-dresser in Hoffman's book, Plate xv, Fig. 3; and Plate xviii, Fig. 2.

294 531 designs; characterized, however, by wider white lines as compared to the remaining black background. The more complicated forms do not appear in this technique; but we have, on the whole, series of rhythmically arranged rectangles, as shown, for instance, in the narrow strips containing white bars in Fig. 208.

There is another figure frequently found in the ornamentation of funeral and sometimes of ordinary clothing, — inscribed arches with elongated sides, or ovals with one end cut off. These figures may be seen on the two funeral quivers before mentioned.[1] Embroidered figures of this kind are found on ancient Chukchee quivers[2] and on some articles of the Alaskan Eskimo.[3]

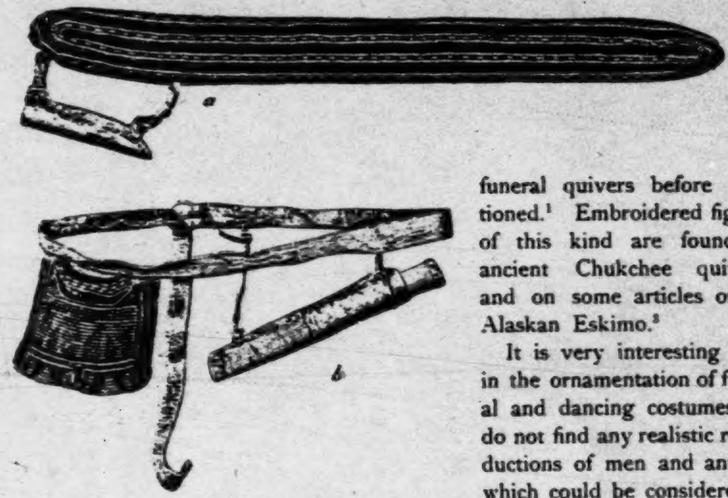


Fig. 212 Bead-Embroidery. *a* ([illegible]), Belt (width, 7 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Pouch (height, 12 cm.).

[71]

It is very interesting that, in the ornamentation of funeral and dancing costumes, we do not find any realistic reproductions of men and animals which could be considered as "guardians" of the dead or of the shamans, or of other persons who perform the religious dances. In the shamanistic costumes of the Yakut, the Tungus, and other Siberian tribes, we do find figures of "guardians" of shamans in the form of outlines of men and other animals. These figures are embroidered on the dress with sinew-thread; and sometimes figures cut out of leather, cloth, tin, or copper, or wrought from iron, are sewed on the dress.

517 171 Professor Boas has called attention to the difference in the decorative style applied in ceremonial and common objects among the Indians, the Eskimo, and the Gold of the Amur River.[4] Their ceremonial objects are

---

[1] See Part I, Fig. 50, p. 107; also Fig. 43, p. 106; and Fig. 227 of this part.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XI, Fig. 1; The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 76, p. 157.

[3] See Nelson, Plate XLV, Figs. 15, 31, 32; Plate XX, Fig. 6.

[4] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the North American Indians (Popular Science Monthly, October, 1903, pp. 484, 485).

517 covered with more or less realistic designs, while the decoration of ordinary
171 garments represents geometrical motives. I have stated that the same phenomenon occurs among the Yakut and Tungus in reference to the decoration of their shaman's and ordinary wearing-apparel. We see the reverse among the Koryak. Their funeral and dancing garments are covered with geometrical designs, and realistic designs are found only among the decorative motives of ordinary coats and on fur rugs.

532 In the ornamentation of funeral garments there is only one case of a figure resembling a starfish,[1] and another resembling a frog. An ancient
425/125 Chukchee quiver has embroidered figures resembling the Russian letter Ж,[2] which could be mistaken for a conventionalized frog. I point this out, because, in the Gilyak cult, the frog plays an important part, and its figure serves as an amulet.[3] In Yukaghir mythology the frog is mentioned,[4] but neither in the Koryak nor in the Chukchee myths do we meet with the frog.[5]

531 This may be the proper place to say a few words as to the part played by figures in the decorative art of the Koryak in general. If we are to assume that, in the case of all tribes, every ornament has, or had at one time, a certain meaning, then I must confess that I have not succeeded in finding the required explanations, either because the Koryak have forgotten the meaning of their ancient ornaments, or because the particular persons from whom I tried to obtain the explanations were not familiar with them, in which case the subject still remains to be investigated.

I was able to ascertain that all ornamental designs on dresses, as well as the tattooings, are called by the same name — ka'li or ke'le — as is used by the Koryak to designate, not only all kinds of drawings, but also the printing in books and Russian letters. Some Koryak said that simple, double, and concentric circles represent the sun, the moon, or the stars. I
[121/127] was told on one occasion that zigzags represent mountains; on another, that they represent waves. Cross-like figures are supposed to represent flying birds; but I was told that as a general rule the ornament had no special significance. Even the information as to zigzags I obtained only after insistent questioning, which may have stimulated the answer. The impression obtained by me was, that the persons interrogated were considering their replies while being questioned. For that reason, I do not attach special importance to their answers. It will be clearly apparent from what follows, that the women

---

[1] See woman's funeral overcoat, Part I, Fig. 51, p. 108.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XI, Fig. 2.

[3] See Schrenck, III, p. 750.

[4] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 5.

[5] Mr. Sternberg has called my attention to the resemblance of some figures in the Koryak-Chukchee decorative art to Gilyak representations of the frog; but I have never seen a frog in the country of the Koryak. Neither Krasheninnikoff (I, p. 492) nor Dittmar (Reisen in Kamtschatka, p. 345) found it in Kamchatka. If the ornament in question really represents a frog, this pattern must have been adopted from the south. I should add, however, that, according to Slunin's assertions (see Slunin, I, p. 339), one species of frog has been found in Kamchatka.

212 517 to give a realistic representation of objects, or, when the presentation is for practical ends only, a lack of care in execution. In the present case, for instance, it was important only that the illustration should serve to recall the objects. With the exception of the illustrations of dress (Fig. 250), in which any one would recognize human figures, we could not tell the meaning of the other primitive illustrations in these writings without explanation. Even other Koryak to whom I showed the letter seldom recognized all of them. Not all Koryak traders who keep written memoranda are familiar with the number-signs used by Qači'lqut. One of them, for instance, used only one sign, the line. He used only units, in the same manner as the Koryak and Chukchee make use of counters in verifying accounts.[1]

211 I did not see among the Koryak notched sticks like those used by the Yakut, the Tungus, and the Yukaghir, in recording accounts. However, the trader mentioned employed some devices to avoid the necessity of writing an interminable row of lines in enumerating large numbers; for instance, to indicate a pud (40 Russian pounds, or 36 pounds Avoirdupois), he drew a balance with loaded scale in equilibrium. This signified full weight.

212 ● 171 Nelson[2] speaks of the trading-records of the Alaskan Eskimo, which, judging by his account, are quite similar to those of the Koryak. Unfortunately he does not give any illustrations which would make it possible to compare the records of the Eskimo and the Koryak.

823 *Geographical Maps.* — Among the Koryak pencil-drawings, there are also geographical maps of the sea and the coast of Penshina Bay. The Koryak display in their charts quite a true perception of the relative disposition of the seacoast, rivers, mountains, and settlements. On the whole, their charts resemble very much the illustrations of Eskimo charts published by other travellers. The settlements are indicated on Koryak charts by rings, dots, or small dashes, which represent houses; small rivers are represented by one line, large ones by two parallel lines: mountains are represented by parallel shadings of different degrees. One chart made by a lad of seventeen in Kamenskoye, and representing the northern part of Penshina Bay, is especially well made (see Fig. 251). Itkana and Ma'meč Capes protrude into the bay, making it appear very narrow. As a matter of fact, this part of the bay is very narrow (see Part I, map). In calm weather the passage from the Itkana settlements to the Ma'meč can be made in a skin boat in from eight to ten hours. The mouth of the Penshina and Talovka Rivers, which empty into one inlet, the Kamenskoye and the Talovka settlements, the mountain-ridge between Talovka and Penshina, and a few other features, are also well drawn. The three Itkana villages are not indicated. In the bay are shown some hunting-scenes of floating ice-fields with seals on them, of spouting whales in pursuit of sea-mammals, and hunters in kayaks and skin boats.

---

[1] See p. 427.

[2] See Nelson, p. 198.

XII. — FAMILY LIFE.

Relations of the Sexes. — The relations of the sexes among the Koryak present a striking contrast to those prevailing among the surrounding tribes. Among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, Yukaghir, and Tungus, unchastity has been more or less common as well in the case of girls before marriage as of women after marriage, the lack of wifely fidelity being based (at least, among the Chukchee) on a certain form of polyandry intermixed with polygamy. Among the Koryak, on the other hand, we see a striking example of moral purity (in the sense in which modern civilized nations understand it) in regard to sexual relations, if for the moment we leave out of consideration the Koryak custom of polygamy. I speak of sexual purity because the Koryak adhere to standards wich among civilized nations are too often violated. Of particular interest also, in the question of sexual relations, is the total absence of the Russian influence upon the Koryak. I speak of the Koryak who have been not at all or but little Russianized. In general, the Russian conquerors have exercised a disintegrating influence on the family life of the Arctic Siberian tribes. The first Cossacks and Russian traders had no Russian women, or few only, in their expeditions. The native women given by the conquered tribes of their own free will, or oftener taken by force, were passed from hand to hand as slaves or hostages. These circumstances did not help to develop family virtues in the mixed bloods born of these casual unions, from which has mainly sprung the present population of the Russian hamlets in northeastern Siberia. The Russian conquerors have of course treated the primitive norms of sexual and marital relations of the northeastern tribes of Siberia not as definite institutions, involving domestic obligations and rights, but as convenient light morals. Thus the Russians made extensive use of the Yukaghir custom of allotting to guests a place on the bed of unmarried women, and of the Chukchee right of certain men to the wives of others.[1] Add to this the violence which was resorted to in many cases, and the process can easily be imagined whereby the primitive forms of marital and sexual relations were destroyed and replaced by mere dissoluteness. Sociologists who think that all mankind, without exception, have passed through the so-called period of promiscuity as a necessary stage in the evolution of marital relations, might find this stage in the free morals prevalent in the hamlets of the Russians or Russianized natives of northeastern

---

[1] See pp. 755, 756.

831 171 Siberia. It is difficult to find a girl that has reached or even approached the age of sexual maturity that is innocent; and the attitude of married women to conjugal fidelity is fully characterized by the proverb, "Woman is not a loaf, can't be eaten by *one* (man)" (Баба не калачъ, одинъ не съѣшь). On the Kolyma, where often several families live together in one house, it is difficult to say who is whose wife. Likewise, cases of incestuous cohabitation of the nearest blood-relations are nowhere more frequent than here.

In bringing about the degeneration and final extinction of many Russianized Siberian tribes, sexual dissoluteness, combined with the spread of syphilis, have played by no means the least important rôle.

831 177 I have here expatiated upon the unchastity of the Russian settlers and Russianized natives of the extreme northeast of Siberia, in order to show that the special position which the Koryak occupy among the neighboring tribes regarding the interrelation of the sexes cannot be due to the influence of the morals of the few representatives of a civilized people who have settled among them. On the contrary, the Koryak have waged an active struggle against the Russian influence which threatened to destroy their family life.[1]

To what, then, is due the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak stand, according to our notions, above those of the tribes which are related to them by descent, — tribes that live under the same economic conditions, and under the influence of the same external circumstances? The explanation lies probably in the peculiar mental attitude of the Koryak.

836 626 POSITION OF GIRLS PRIOR TO MARRIAGE. — Girls, before marriage, must have no intercourse with men. This rule is pretty strictly observed by Koryak girls. Young men will not "serve"[2] for a dissolute girl. He who would undertake to serve for such a girl would expose himself to ridicule on the part of the other youths. On the other hand, the girl's father and elder brothers "are angry," the Koryak say, if they notice that their daughter or sister is intimate with young men. All investigators familiar with the life of primitive tribes know that the anger of the elders has more influence upon the conduct of the younger members of a family than preaching in the higher classes or blows in the lower classes of civilized nations, for the wrath of the elders may do harm to those against whom it is directed.

In two myths[3] we have characteristic episodes telling how a girl's brothers forced a young man to marry her when she complained that the young man had touched her or had addressed to her a request to give him water to drink.

836 847 Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, it is considered shameful, and her parents scold her. She goes off into the wilderness to be deliv-

---

[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] See p. 739.

[3] See Part I, pp. 270, 273.

ered of her child. She kills and buries it in the ground or in the snow. 836
If the girl points out the father of her child, her father or brothers endeavor [847]
to pommel him. In olden times cohabitation out of wedlock with a girl sometimes led to wars between the families to which the young people belonged. After reaching maturity, the girl sleeps in her combination-suit, the make[1] of which prevents unexpected violence. When strangers sleep in the house over night, girls do not undress at all, and sleep together in one bed. As we shall see later on, the bride also resists the bridegroom at the beginning of their married life, symbolizing her innocence and inaccessibility.

The girl is as inaccessible to the bridegroom while he serves for her as to a stranger. Intercourse of a bride with her bridegroom before the termination of his service is deemed a sin. Oftentimes, during the period of a young man's service, the girl goes away from her parental home to live with her relatives. In one myth it is told[2] that the sister of Cloud-Man was let down to earth pending her bridegroom's service.

Different rules for a girl's conduct are found among the tribes nearest 836
to the Koryak. Maidenly chastity is valued very little among the Chukchee, 171●
says Bogoras.[3] Krasheninnikoff says of the ancient Kamchadal, "Though
fond of women, this tribe is not so jealous as the Koryak. In marriages the [585]
signs of virginity are not considered, and some claim that the young men find fault with their mothers-in-law when they discover their wives to be virgin, but this I cannot assert to be authentic."[4] In my work on the Yukaghir I shall speak more fully of their custom of placing guests on the beds of the girls.

Dittmar states that a Koryak girl who had intercourse with a man was [114]
severely punished, and that her own father shot her;[5] but Krasheninnikoff asserts, in a passage which I shall touch upon again farther on, that the Maritime Koryak offered their wives and daughters to their guests.[6] In another passage[7] he says that among the Reindeer Koryak the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service. I think that these data were recorded by Krasheninnikoff on the authority of the Cossacks, who might have confused the Chukchee customs with those of the Koryak, or simply invented this statement. This seems the more probable, since not even the Chukchee offer their daughters to their guests.

In the myths of the Koryak we do not find a single allusion to such an 837
order of things. On the contrary, we find episodes of an opposite character. The girls are generally kept in a secret place,[8] or they are hidden during

---

[1] See p. 589.

[2] See Part I, p. 131.

[3] See Bogoras, Brief Report on the Investigations among the Chukchee of the Kolyma District, p. 36.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.

[5] See Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 32.

[6] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.

[7] Ibid., II, p. 22.

[8] See Part I, pp. 125, 176, 291, 302.

Relatives by Affinity. — A man cannot marry the following relatives by affinity; (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter. 592 587

The aversion to cohabitation between relatives in the first two degrees of blood-relationship — such as the cohabitation with a mother, daughter, or sister, which, with very rare exceptions, we find among the most primitive tribes — hardly requires explanation. As regards the prohibition of marriages among the other above-mentioned relatives, the Koryak replied to my questions on this point, that relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another. Unfortunately this answer gives no clew to the above-mentioned taboos. However, certain marital taboos between relatives by affinity are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the peculiarities of the Koryak levirate. 835

Krasheninnikoff states that among the Kamchadal "the forbidden kinds of marriage are with one's own mother and daughter only; while marriages between step-son and step-mother, step-father and step-daughter, and between cousins, are permissible."[1] 582 171

Steller says[2] that if a Kamchadal married a widow who had a daughter, he lived with both as his wives. According to him, the Kamchadal allowed a man to marry his step-mother, or to have two sisters for wives simultaneously. It seems to me hardly credible that the Kamchadal should differ so sharply in their marriage-taboos from the modern Koryak. It is regrettable that what has been said by Steller and Krasheninnikoff cannot now be verified, since the modern Kamchadal, having become Christians and been completely Russianized, observe the rules of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the matter of marriages, as far as their formal side is concerned. However, Krasheninnikoff asserts even, with reference to the Reindeer Koryak, that they used to marry cousins, aunts, and step-mothers.[3] It is hard to admit that in the brief period (about a hundred and fifty years) which has elapsed since Krasheninnikoff's time, the marriage-laws of the Koryak should have changed to such an extent. [114]

It must nevertheless be added, that, if we are to judge from the myths, 592

---

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.

[2] See Steller, p. 347.

[3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

In antiquity, as the Koryak relate, the match-maker, too, had to do all 584 manner of house-work during the bridegroom's sojourn in the house of the 171 bride's parents. This evidently was considered a test of the bridegroom's relatives. The custom of having the match-maker perform the duties of a servant in the house of the bride's parents is still widespread among many Chukchee.[1]

A very characteristic story of match-making among the Indighirka Chukchee was related to me by a Reindeer Yukaghir who sued for the hand of a Chukchee girl in behalf of his brother. His brother had fallen in love with a Chukchee girl; but her father, a wealthy reindeer-breeder, did not want the bridegroom, not because the latter was a poor Yukaghir, but because he thought him a bad herdsman. Then the girl herself went to the Yukaghir family, and engaged there in household duties with the other women. By virtue of the custom of hospitality, she was not asked what she had come for. Thus three days had passed. The kinsman of the Yukaghir would have had no objection to this marriage, if they had not feared, that, owing to the girl's wilful leaving of her parental home, her father would refuse to give up her share of reindeer. On the third day the young man's elder brother said to the Chukchee girl, "We do not act the way you do. Go with me to your father's house, and I shall press the suit for your hand." The Chukchee girl went with him in silence. On the way he broke a quantity of dry twigs, placed them by the hearth, took the buckets, fetched water, and did other household work. "In vain do you, old man, do that which women can do," said the Chukchee host to the Yukaghir." — "I have come to press suit for your daughter's hand," the Yukaghir replied. "Why should you sue for it? She ran away to your house of her own accord," the Chukchee said, railing at the Yukaghir. After that the Yukaghir stubbornly persisted in doing all tasks about the house, and the Chukchee spoke to him no more. A few days later the Chukchee somehow said aloud to his house-fellows, as is their habit, "I am going out to stool." The Yukaghir went out after him; and, while the Chukchee was satisfying nature's demands, the Yukaghir tore up a quantity of soft grass and handed it to him. This humiliation at last touched the Chukchee. He put the bundle of grass to use. Then he entered the house and told the Yukaghir that he might send his brother to serve for his daughter.

MARRIAGE. — When the bride's father has decided that it is time to 585 end the probation service, he tells the bridegroom that he may seize the bride; i. e., marry her. There are no marriage rites or festivities whatever. Marriage proper is performed by the first cohabitation; but even prior to this, the marriage becomes legalized by means of a symbolic action. The

---

[1] See Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 25.

with all of them, and shares his bed, now with one, and then with another. 595
The sense of shame forbids a woman to be present at the acts of the intimate 587
life of her sister. What, then, is the origin of this, which I should call "two-sided Koryak levirate"?

McLennan[1] and his followers consider the custom of levirate among 114
other tribes as a survival of polyandry. Westermarck[2] demolishes this view
with great conclusiveness. But if we admit that McLennan is right, whatever 171 ●
he says applies to the one-sided levirate usually spoken of by the ethnologists 587
and sociologists; i. e., when the younger brother marries the elder brother's widow. But, of course, nobody considers the marriage of a widower with the younger sister of his deceased wife a survival of polyandry.

Lubbock's and Spencer's explanation of levirate is, that woman is viewed as a property which the brother-in-law inherits along with other possessions. Possibly the explanation may apply to the levirate custom of some tribes; but in cases where the widower takes the younger sister of his deceased wife, there can be no question of proprietary title to her; also in the passing of the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother, the family right does not always coincide with the right of property, as it appears from the Koryak order of inheritance. Besides, according to the customs of the Koryak, the elder brother, although he receives part of the inheritance left by his younger brother, cannot marry his widow.

The view that levirate is connected with the cult of ancestors — such 769
as prevailed among the ancient Hindoos and Hebrews, through the necessity
of having an heir in the interests of salvation and bliss in heaven — does 587
not apply to the Koryak levirate either, not only because it is two-sided, but also because among the Koryak any widow of the elder brother, and not alone one without any offspring, or without male offspring, passes over to the younger brother.

Nevertheless I do think that Koryak levirate, though from another point of view, is connected with the cult of ancestors, or rather with the cult of the family hearth. I have pointed out before[3] that each Koryak family has its guardians and its incantations. The family hearth, the chief family guardian, is averse to admitting strangers. Since primitive man views every stranger as a possible foe, the family guardians are inimically disposed toward every stranger, and are ready to guard the family against the evil eye, word, and other magic acts of strangers. Access to the family hearth is had with difficulty only. Besides, the family hearth is connected with the deceased relatives whose souls return in new-born children. Marriages between two

---

[1] See I. J. McLennan, The Levirate and Polyandry (The Fortnightly Review, London, 1877, Vol. XXI, pp. 694—707).

[2] See E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, London, 1901, p. 510.

[3] See Part I, pp. 46, 59.

587 In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the existence of levirate among them,[1] but a more detailed discussion of their customs
171 may be expected in his description of the social organization of the Chukchee in this series. From certain passages in Steller's book on the Kamchadal,[2] the conclusion may be drawn that among them a levirate similar to that of the Koryak existed; i. e., that it was two-sided.[3] It is a matter of great regret that he does not dwell in detail on this institution. An interesting feature of the marriage customs of the Kamchadal is mentioned by both Steller and Krasheninnikoff.[4] It is evidently connected with the levirate, and is quite similar to the Jewish rite of khaliche, which is a substitute for actual marriage with a relative's widow. According to these travellers, nobody would marry a widow before an outsider had had sexual intercourse with her, which was called "removing the sin from her." By that intercourse a woman was evidently freed from the union with her deceased husband's family; and her new husband could take her to his own family hearth without incurring vengeance on the part of her first husband's spirit. This explanation is favored by another passage in Steller, in which he states that a man may take his deceased brother's widow *without* any ceremonies.[5] The person who would undertake to "remove sin" from a woman was paid for this service; and prior to the coming of the Cossacks, it was difficult to find among the Kamchadal men who would volunteer for this undertaking, which, according to their belief, was fraught with danger.

595 POLYGYNY. — In some myths the heroes have two wives, and in two of them they have three; but the majority of marriages recorded in the myths are monogamous. The Supreme Deity and Big-Raven have each but one wife. In contemporary Koryak life as well, we find that monogamous marriages prevail, although custom places no limits on the number of wives.

Among the Maritime Koryak, I questioned 95 married men. Of these, 13 (i. e., 13.6 %) had two wives each, and not a single one had more than two. Among the Reindeer Koryak I recorded the family conditions of 65 married men; and of them, but 3 had two wives each, and 1 had three wives; i. e., the percentage of men having more than one wife was but 6 %,
595 or but half as much as among the Maritime Koryak. Some of the men
587 with two wives had taken a second wife because the first one was barren; others had married a second time because their first wife, who was obtained

---

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 35.

[2] See Steller, pp. 346, 347.

[3] Customs similar to what I call "two-sided levirate" are known also among other tribes. Some of them are enumerated by Kohler (Urgeschichte der Ehe, p. 144), who regards this custom as a survival of former "group-marriages." The same custom is also met with among North American tribes. For instance, of the Ojibwas, W. Jones says (Central Algonkin, Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1906, p. 136), "It was usual for a man to marry the widow of his brother, and a widower might marry the sister of his dead wife." The same is stated by Teit with reference to the Thompson Indians (see Teit, p. 325), and by Dorsey to the Skidi Pawnee (Congrès International des Américanistes, XVe Session, Québec, 1907, Vol II, p. 73). No explanation, however, is given by the last three authors as to the origin of this custom.

[4] See Steller, p. 346; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 178.

[5] See Steller, p. 347.

the present Chukchee irka'la'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage 588
with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines,
and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course,
cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few
in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he
registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women;
but of these, only two were "married" to other men.[1] I think abnormal 838
sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning 771
shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits
at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished.
These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical
and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the [177]
Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have
disappeared in both tribes.

POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee 595
of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that 837
the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the
husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this ques- 171
tion more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.[2] This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born.

In Steller's[3] description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.[4] On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

---

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.

[2] For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 292.

[3] See Steller, p. 347.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 201.

595 837 171 the guests, and that the host feels deeply offended should the guest not accept them.[1]

I think that his statement is based on a misunderstanding, or on reports of Cossacks who confounded the Maritime Koryak and the Chukchee. I should find difficulty in deciding who is more jealous, the Maritime or the Reindeer Koryak. If exchange of wives existed among the Koryak in former times, as it did among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, and the northwest Americans, like the Aleut, Eskimo, and Athapascan[2] tribes, I have found no traces of such a custom. True, in one myth two kalat have one wife,[3] but such actions, which men deem evil, are always attributed to evil spirits. In another myth[4] Yiñea-ñeut strikes her husband's younger brother with a cutting-board because he wooed her in his brothers absence. The Koryak themselves deny ever having had the custom of exchanging wives. They assert that a married woman had to go in a dirty dress and with unwashed face, that she might not attract the attention of strange men. Once I asked the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak, who has three wives, what he thought of the Chukchee custom of exchanging wives. He replied that he would gladly avail himself of the Chukchee hospitality in this regard, but would never consent to reciprocity in the matter. Krasheninnikoff says[5] that the Reindeer Koryak have two and three wives each, and keep them in different places, giving them separate herds and separate herdsmen, as do the reindeer-breeding Chukchee. The above-mentioned elder asserted that neither at present nor in earlier times did any such custom prevail. He says that he would not leave his wife alone with the herd for other men to come and avail themselves of her. If there are two or more wives, they always live in one tent with the husband, as they live in the same house, among the Maritime Koryak. Among the Reindeer Koryak, the senior wife sometimes has a separate sleeping-tent; for instance, that of the Taigonos elder. On the northern side of the Palpal Ridge, where the Reindeer Koryak come into contact with the Reindeer Chukchee, with whom they enter into marriage-relations. the Chukchee marriage-customs may have been adopted to some extent by the Koryak; but, on the other hand, the Chukchee, who roam at present among the Koryak of the Parapol Dol, and whom I had occasion to see, exchange their wives with neither relatives nor neighbors, having adopted the Koryak views on this subject.

837 Of course, even among the Koryak, adultery is met with, though less frequently than among civilized peoples, but never with connivance of the husband. In former times, a wife's faithlessness would often lead to bloody retribution. Nowadays the husband casts out or thrashes the faithless wife without mercy, but he does not touch her lover. I know of one case in

---

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.

[2] A. G. Morice, The Canadian Dénés (Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1905, p. 196).

[3] See Part I, p. 134.

[4] Ibid., I, p. 248.

[5] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

342

Reindeer-breeders' dwelling.

361 [172] fishing, or at river deltas. Kerek villages were small, consisting of only one or two dwellings. In the past, however, as seen from the ruins, they consisted of 10 to 15 dwellings.

177 342 Russian influence led to the appearance in the villages of the sedentary Koryaks of wooden frame houses as long ago as the middle of the last century.

Means of Transportation

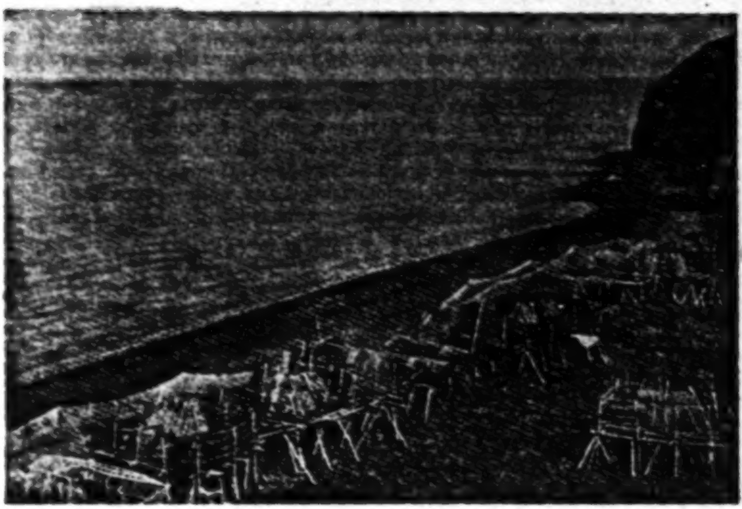
492 493 [184] [171] The nomad Koryaks traveled by reindeer, the sedentary ones by dog-transport. The reindeer were harnessed to the sled; the Koryaks did not know of riding on reindeer. The reindeer sleds were similar to the Chukchi sled in construction. The light ones were arch-staved, with bent runners and a frame for sitting. The freight sleds were built in the same fashion, but more massively. Depending on the purpose of the freight-hauling sled, it was either surmounted by a hood (as in the sleds used for transporting children), or simply by a platform on poles (for carrying loads). There was also a special sled for carrying the frame of the dwelling, and so forth.

The light traveling sleds were usually harnessed to two reindeer; the freight-hauling sled was pulled by one reindeer. The reindeer were harnessed, not in front of the traveling sled, but on the left, so that the driver sitting in the sled could see everything ahead of him. When going downhill,

342

Dwelling of coastal Koryaks.

361



Summer village.

492 493 the reindeer remained slightly behind the driver on the left, restraining the sled from slipping down too fast. The reindeer were managed with the help of reins and a whip with bone tips.

[184] The coastal Koryaks and the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy kept sled dogs. A full team usually consisted of 10 to 12 animals. For dog-travel, the Koryaks used the four-staved sled, common throughout Eastern Siberia. It was 2-2.5 m long, and 0.5 m wide. Its parts were fastened with leather strips and sharpened pegs inserted into holes, made especially to receive them. The dogs were harnessed tandem, in pairs. They were directed by voice, and braked with the aid of a staff (about one meter long) with an iron tip. The standard load per sled was 150-160 kg in addition to the weight of the driver (kayur).

231 [492] [177] [184] The Koryaks learned horse-breeding from the Russians. Sedentary Koryaks (Palantsy, Karagintsy and southern Alyutortsy) kept horses, but they were used only in summer, as pack animals. In winter, they were left to their own devices, foraging for green fodder and often perishing of starvation, blizzards, frosts and wolves. Often the horses became so wild that their owner found it easier to walk dozens of miles with heavy loads rather than try to capture the horse.

501 [171] For water transportation, the Koryaks used skin boats (baydars and kayaks). The Koryak baydar was similar to the Chukchi, but was considerably shorter and wider; its prow and stern were rounded. It was used by the Koryaks chiefly for hunting and fishing.

During the summertime, river transportation was by bat—boats hollowed out of thick tree trunks. They are extremely unstable in the water and require great skill of the helmsman, who steer with a long pole. Despite their untrustworthiness, these boats were also used by the Koryaks on the sea. In such cases, they were joined: two boats were linked with thick crossbars, leaving a space between them which was approximately equal to the width of one boat. Sometimes

Koryak

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--285-286 N-2 (1897) 1898
116, 171, 342, 361

"The yurts, [at Karaga--Analyst] therefore, have the proportion of one to about three balagans, and not, as described by James King in the case of the Kamchadales of Petropavlowsk, of one to about six. This authority, the author of 'Cook's Third Voyage' (1784), states that, at Petropavlowsk, when he visited that town in 1779, there were nineteen balagans, three yurts, and [286] seven log-houses, the latter being an introduction made by the Russians. According to King, each family possessed a balagan for use as a summer habitation, but the yurts were used in winter by as many as six families in common. Our experience was slightly different, since we found both yurts and balagans in use at the time of our visit. This is also contrary to the present custom at Petropavlowsk, where the balagans are now only used as storehouses, and while the richer people of that town live in log-houses, the poorer have to be content with yurts."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--287-288 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak -1-2
116, 171, 178, 342

"On the whole the balagans seemed to agree very closely with those described and figured by King and other earlier travellers. In the pictures given by Steller, however, the balagans have a rounded, not angular, exterior, and the ladders are not of the primitive type, but quite modern in appearance. The balagans also as seen by us differed from those described by King, in being provided with only one and not with two entrances. The shape of the balagans at Karaga is also worth noting, they being pyramidal, whereas those of Petropavlowsk as well [288] as the raised storehouses of the Ainus of Yezo, (1) are gabled like an ordinary hut raised on poles. But in the latter case the influx of Russian civilization would seem to have degraded the balagan from summer dwelling to winter storehouse.

The Karaga yurts differed from those described in the old voyages in being entered from the side only by means of an ordinary doorway, and not from the top by means of a ladder (2). In this respect they bear a very great resemblance to photographs which we

---

1. See the Rev. John Batchelor's 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. iv.

2. See description of yurt, as seen on Karaginski island (p. 296).

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--287-288 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak-2
116, 171, 178, 342

possess of the yurts at present in use among the inhabitants of Unalashka, the Commander, and the Kuril islands. The latter seem to have replaced, and to be a modern improvement of the yurt with the entrance in the roof, as in Cook's Voyage there is an excellent figure of one of the latter kind at Unalashka."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--290 [4] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 101, 144, 171, 342

"Altogether, the people of this village [Karaga--Analyst] were rather puzzling, and seem to present some of the characteristics in a mixed degree of Chukchis, Koriaks, and Kamchadales, the three little-known Mongolian races which alone are said to inhabit these regions. Their dwellings, however, were sufficiently Kamchadale in character to stamp them as members of that race. Indeed, it seems to be mainly by their habitations and in their language that these tribes are distinguishable *inter se*, their features and clothing being, to judge of the various accounts which have been given of them, not very distinct. Steller tells us that the Kamchadales are, in general, an undersized people, but some of these natives were tall and of very fair proportions. This, and the fact that some of the men were bearded, may show a mixture of blood in their veins, possibly traceable to the presence of the Russians for over a century in Kamchatka."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--291 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116 101 171 291

"In dress also the inhabitants of Karaga village seem to show a mixture of blood and habits, for, if we are to believe Langsdorf ('Voyages,' part ii. p. 319, 1814), the hooded robe without an opening at the bosom, and with the ornamented breast-piece hanging down from the neck, is a characteristic of the Koriak, and not of the Kamchadale tribe."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--298 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 171, 481

"The snowshoes, both at Karaga and on the island, [Karaginski--Analyst] were of the latticed North American type, and quite different to those in use in the neighbourhood of Petropavlovsk, which consist of a long light framework, rectangular in shape, and covered with walrus or hair seal-skin, the skin being brought to a point at the ends, and the hair being laid backwards to facilitate hill-climbing."

231 Their huts are made much in the ſame manner as thoſe of
264 other wandering people, but leſs than thoſe of the *Calmucks.*
342 In the winter they cover them with raw deer-ſkins, and in the
ſummer with tanned. They have no flooring or ſeparation within their huts; in the middle only are four little ſtakes driven, between which is their hearth. To theſe ſtakes they commonly tie their dogs, which frequently drag the victuals out of the kettles while it is dreſſing; and notwithſtanding their maſters beat them very ſeverely, they generally come in for a ſhare of every piece. A man muſt be very hungry to be able to eat with theſe people. Inſtead of waſhing their kettles or platters they give them to the dogs to lick, and the very fleſh which they tear from the mouths of the dogs they throw again into the kettles without waſhing it.

171 The *Tchukotſkoi* winter huts are much preferable to thoſe of
342 the *Koreki*, being much warmer and more roomy. Several
families live in the ſame hut, all having their proper benches, upon which deer-ſkins are ſpread, whereon they ſit or ſleep. Upon each bench a lamp burns day and night, for which they uſe fiſh-oil and a wick of moſs. They have an opening in the top, which ſerves for a chimney; however they are almoſt as ſmoaky as thoſe of the *Koreki*, but ſo warm, that in the coldeſt
171 places the women ſit naked. The cloaths which they wear are
291 made of rein-deer ſkins, not differing in the leaſt from thoſe
of the *Kamtſchadales*, who purchaſe them from the *Koreki.* They feed upon the fleſh of the rein-deer, in which they very
233 much abound, ſome of the rich having ten or twenty thouſand;
556 nay, one of the chiefs was ſaid to have one hundred thouſand:
262 but yet they are ſo penurious, that they are ſorry to kill any
574 for their own uſe, ſatisfying themſelves with ſuch as die naturally,
or are killed by the wolves. Of this carrion, indeed, they have plenty; and they are not aſhamed to excuſe themſelves from entertaining travellers by telling them that none of their

deer

deer are killed or have died lately.

kotſkoi have great herds, and yet feed for the moſt part upon ſea 233
animals. The *Koreki* would be miſerable if they wanted the
rein-deer: for they know no way of keeping themſelves alive,
as they do not underſtand how to catch fiſh; and if they did,
could not ſoon provide themſelves with boats, nets, or dogs:
ſo that the poorer ſort are employed by the richer in feeding
their deer, for which they receive meat and cloaths; and if they
have any ſmall ſtock of their own, they are allowed to feed
them with their maſter's cattle.

The rein-deer *Koreki* exchange their deer and deer-ſkins with 439
the neighbouring people for the very fineſt furrs, of which they
have always a large ſtock by them.

The religion of the *Koreki* is more abſurd than that of the 776
Kamtſchadales, at leaſt that little chief, of whom I had my information, 771
ſeemed to have ſcarce any idea of a God; they ſeem 782
more to reſpect evil ſpirits, which, according to their opinion,
inhabit the rivers and woods: this reſpect ſeems to be owing to their
fear. The ſettled *Koreki* acknowledge for their God, the *Kuta*
of the *Kamtſchadales*. They have no fixt time of worſhip
or offering ſacrifices; but, whenever they pleaſe, they kill either
a rein-deer or a dog, which they fix upon a ſtake, turning its face
towards the eaſt, leaving only the deer's head and tongue upon
the ſtake. They themſelves do not know to whom they make
theſe ſacrifices, and only uſe theſe words, *Vio coing yack ne la lu,
ban be vau*; that is, This to you, and may you ſend us ſomething
that is good. The time of ſacrificing is when they are
going to paſs any river or waſte, which they think the devils inhabit;
then they kill one of their deer, and eating the fleſh,
they faſten the bones of the head upon a pole, which they fix
oppoſite to the habitation of the ſpirits. When the *Koreki* are 751
afraid of any infectious diſtemper, they kill a dog, and winding
the guts upon two poles, they paſs between them.

During

times to ſet little rods round their huts. When they kill a dog, 755
one perſon holds it by the head, another by the tail, and a third 782
ſtabs it in the ſide; when it is dead they ſtick it upon a ſtake,
turning its face towards the neareſt burning mountain.

Their civil policy is as rude as their religious; they know 805
nothing of dividing the year into months; they have names 821
indeed for the four ſeaſons. They have only names for the four
cardinal winds. Of the conſtellations they know the Great Bear,
which they call, in their language, the wild rein-deer; the
Pleiades they name the duck's neſt; and the Milky Way the
ſcattered river.

The diſtance of places they reckon by their day's journey, 804
which is between 30 and 50 verſts.

Before they were ſubject to the Empire of *Ruſſia* they never 622
had any government or chief magiſtrate among them, only 556
thoſe that were rich had ſome ſort of authority over the poor; 626
nor before that did they know any thing of an oath. At preſent,
inſtead of ſwearing upon the croſs or goſpel, our Coſſacks oblige
them to hold a muſquet by the barrel, threatening, that whoever
does not obſerve this oath will certainly be ſhot by a ball. This
they are ſo much afraid of, that rather than clear themſelves by
this oath, if guilty, they will confeſs their crime.

They are quite ignorant of all good manners, not only in com- 524
mon compliments, but in receiving ſtrangers, whom they treat 171
with an air of ſuperiority. When their entertain their gueſts they 262
don't oblige them to over-eat themſelves, as the *Kamtſchadales* do,
but give them what they have in ſufficient plenty; their beſt vic-
tuals is fat meat, and all theſe barbarous nations are exceſſively
fond of fat. The *Jakutſki* would loſe an eye for a piece of fat 000
horſe fleſh, and the *Tchukotſkoi* for a fat dog. The *Jakutſki*
know that the ſtealing of any cattle is puniſhed with the loſs of
all their goods; yet, if they have an opportunity, they can't re-
ſtrain themſelves from ſtealing a fat horſe, comforting themſelves

amidſt

000 amidſt all their misfortunes, with the pleaſure of having once in
their life made a delicious meal.

685 Amongſt all theſe barbarous nations, excepting the *Kamtſchadales*,
177 theft is reputable, provided they do not ſteal in their own tribe,
619 or if done with ſuch art as to prevent diſcovery; on the other
hand, it is puniſhed very ſeverely if diſcovered, not for the theft,
but for want of addreſs in the art of ſtealing. A *Tchukotſkoi* girl
cannot be married before ſhe has ſhewn her dexterity in this
way.

682 Murder is not looked upon as a great crime unleſs it be in
619 their own tribe, and then the relations of the murdered generally
revenge it, but no one elſe takes any notice of it.

582 In their marriages the rich match with the rich, and the poor
with the poor, with little regard either to beauty or any other accompliſhment.
They marry for the moſt part into their own family,
ſuch as with a firſt couſin, an aunt, or mother-in-law; and, in
ſhort, with any relation except their own mother or daughter.
583 The ceremonies of courtſhip are the ſame as among the *Kamtſchadales*.
836 Although the bridegroom ſhould be very rich, yet he
is obliged to ſerve three or five years for his bride; during which
time they allow them to ſleep together, though the form of
catching the bride ſhould not be performed, which they leave
'till the marriage be celebrated, and that is done without any
595 great ceremony. They have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three
233 wives, whom they keep at different places, giving them a herd
of deer and a keeper. Their greateſt pleaſure is to go from place
to place and examine their cattle; and it is ſurpriſing that the
Koreki, notwithſtanding their herds are ſo numerous, and they
are quite ignorant of arithmetick, can immediately diſcover the
leaſt loſs, and even deſcribe all the marks of the deer that is
miſſing.

858 They have a great fondneſs for their children, and breed
them up from their infancy to labour and oeconomy. Thoſe
that

765 and the *Shaman*, driving the horns into the earth, pretends that
783 he ſends a herd of deer to the dead. After this they return
home, and in order to purify themſelves, they paſs between two
rods which are fixed in the ground; the *Shaman*, at the ſame
time beating them with another, conjures the dead not to take
them away.

171 In all other cuſtoms and ceremonies they agree with the
726 *Kamtſchadales*; as in making war, which is generally by ſur-
411 priſing their enemies. Their arms conſiſt in bows, arrows, and
ſpears, formerly pointed with bones or flint. Their women are
462 employed in dreſſing their furrs, making cloaths and ſhoes.
The *Koreki* women, indeed, are employed in cookery, which
thoſe of *Kamtſchatka* are not.

CHAP.

Koryak RY4
Kamchadal RY3
Chukchee RY2

C /242 cont./
582 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same
171 as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic
835 group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the
K Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony
582 of Krasheninnikov in Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /A Descrip-
835 tion of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded,
unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the
KK Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong
582 influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to
835 a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it
C
[835] was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus,
marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among
KK them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the ob-
587 ligation of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been
perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the
KK sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate.
● [171] As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, wide-
[614] spread even on the continent of North America (Algonkin,
Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of
[177] the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased
wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the
deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been
adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of
this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that
have been established between the spouses and by an un-
willingness to admit an alien element to the sacred family
hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted,
but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was
admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak
have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the
KK above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the
587 sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained
835 much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage.
With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female
cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male
cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

2: Schrenck--757 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Northeast Siberia RY1
Koryak RY4 ●
Goldi RX3
Eskimo ND2

NS /488 cont./
492 development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use
484 of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K
231 To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker
[361] /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise
[492] have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft
K animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that
174
231
361

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G. /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all
Gi animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and
NS therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to
K speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this
231 oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subse-
●171 quently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like
231 other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic
171 animal and used it in harness when they were still on their
174 original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

---

7. See pp. 481 ff.